

# The Nation.

VOL. IV.—NO. 101.

THURSDAY, JUNE 6, 1867.

FIVE DOLLARS PER ANNUM  
TWELVE CENTS PER COPY.

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SUBSCRIPTIONS AND ADVERTISEMENTS.

E. L. GODKIN & CO., PUBLISHERS, 130 NASSAU STREET, N. Y.

## The Week.

THE Judiciary Committee has brought its labors to a close in the matter of impeachment. The vote stood five to four against impeach-  
ment, and seven to two in favor of severe condemnation of the Presi-  
dent's course. This ends the matter for the present, very much as we  
expected. Mr. Ashley, it is reported, is chagrined, and will try and  
have impeachment ordered by the whole House next December, but if  
he does not do better than when he brought the subject before the House  
before, it is certainly not Mr. Johnson who will suffer by it. The whole  
thing has been an attempt of men who do not think much, but feel  
furiously, to give their passions full course at any cost to the nation,  
and it has been killed by the common sense of the community.

GENERAL SHERIDAN has put a somewhat amusing construction on  
one clause of the Reconstruction act. He removed, a short time ago,  
two rival boards of levee commissioners, one appointed by Governor  
Wells and one an old rebel board. Governor Wells sent a remon-  
strance to Washington, and obtained the reversal of the order from  
the President, whereupon the general removed Governor Wells himself  
as "an impediment to the faithful execution of the law," and de-  
nounces him as a dishonest and traitorous person. As between General  
Sheridan and any man who has been actively engaged the last four or  
five years in Louisiana politics, we should have no hesitation in taking  
the general's side. We feel perfectly satisfied that when he says any  
New Orleans politician, be he "patriot" or rebel, is a knave, a knave  
he is; and we desire, as long as martial law is down there the law of  
the land, that he may in all things have his own way; but we fear in  
this instance he will not have it. If the Government at Washington  
were to acknowledge that an appeal to them from the decisions of a  
district commander might be treated by the officer himself as offering  
an "impediment to the faithful execution of the law," and punished  
accordingly, the right of appeal would be, of course, destroyed, and  
the various generals would become absolute within the limits of their  
jurisdiction—a result which the act certainly did not contemplate.

GENERAL POPE's orders in regard to the riot at Mobile and Colonel

Shepherd's suppression of a Mobile newspaper are very sensible docu-  
ments. He explains his action in removing the authorities of the city  
on the general ground that the military are not sent into the South by  
Congress to do nothing, nor to do everything, but to see that life and  
property are made safe. This, in his opinion, they can best do—he, for  
his part, intends to do this—by supporting in all ways the civil authori-  
ties against insurrection and anarchy, and whenever the civil authori-  
ties, through weakness, stupidity, or malice, fail to protect the indi-  
vidual, by superseding them and putting capable men in their places.  
He acts under a law of Congress which declares that there is no ade-  
quate protection to life and property in the lately rebellious States;  
but what means of protection he finds in existence he intends to help  
as far as possible. As to the newspaper, he informs Colonel Shepherd  
that free speech is to be tolerated and encouraged, and editors and  
public speakers, no matter what they say, are not to be meddled with.  
The military are to wait for overt acts with which the civil power may  
be unable to deal.

\* THE military officers on the frontier like to believe, and we suppose  
they do believe, that it is by the strong arm alone that the Indian can  
be kept in order; the civilian agent of the United States has an oppor-  
tunity to steal from the Indian rather more than he gives him; the  
buffalo is disappearing; the white settler wants land and roads to the  
Atlantic and the Pacific, and he wants the Indian gone; it is the nine-  
teenth century and America that the Indian lives in, yet he will not  
work. Evidently, these being the conditions, if the white man and the  
red man were to-day seeing each other for the first time, we might ex-  
pect trouble to-morrow. But add to these natural difficulties the  
remembrance of years of treachery, of gross injustice, of bloody violence  
of every sort committed on all ages and sexes, and add that, owing to  
the subsidizing policy of the Government and "big talks" and mili-  
tary expeditions like the latest one of Custer's, which is described as  
"hunting ducks with a full brass band," the Indian half believes him-  
self stronger than his Great Father in Washington. Moreover, there  
is no denying it, he is excessively hard to civilize. There never was,  
of any color or blood, a more untamable and, on the whole, worthless  
breed. One need not shed many tears if the Duke of Argyll's notion is  
correct that, by the process of natural selection, the earth is being given  
over to the races best qualified to make use of it, of which the Indian  
race is not one. A man may be excused for having no decided views  
upon the best policy to be adopted with this unfortunate people, who  
just at the present moment seem to be all in arms, but a government so  
strong as this Government ought at least not to have a policy at once  
wicked and so weak as to be worthless. The United States might, one  
would say, either spend money enough to keep the Indians fed or to  
keep them cowed.

THADDEUS STEVENS has changed his ground a little about confisca-  
tion—that is, instead of confiscating for the benefit of the negroes  
simply, he wants to confiscate for the payment of the damage done by  
the Southern army in Pennsylvania and Maryland during the war.  
There is an air of sense about this, or rather would have been if it  
had been proposed two years ago. But these damages, if paid at all,  
ought to be paid by taxation and not confiscation. The demand, too,  
would not be unreasonable. The cost of the war is very frequently ex-  
acted by the victor, and after the Swiss attempt at secession in 1847 the  
seceding cantons were compelled to meet the expense of putting it  
down. But to talk of making the South pay anything now is prepos-  
terous. Mr. Stevens has heard the proverb about the difficulty of  
"taking the breeks off a Highlandman."

THE offence of treason against the United States has finally been abolished by the New York *Tribune*. We felt, as everybody must have felt, that there was an inconsistency in retaining it after Jefferson Davis had been whitewashed, and "the guilt of the rebellion" done away with. It appears that when hostilities against the United States are carried on on a great scale by persons owing it allegiance, their act is civil war, and, therefore, not treason (*vide* Daniel Webster on the battle of Bunker Hill). But it is not at all likely that hostilities against the United States will ever be carried on on a small scale. A small rising is simply a riot. Americans are not such donkeys as to attempt to overturn this Government with a mob; therefore, let a man want to commit treason ever so much, he cannot do it; and an impossible offence cannot be said to exist; therefore there is no such crime as treason under our law. What induced the framers of the Constitution to define it nobody knows or ever will know.

The *Tribune* announced solemnly, last week, and with a fine semi-official tone, that "President" Roberts of the Fenian Brotherhood was gone to Europe to organize alliances between the Irish Republic and the various revolutionary associations on the Continent. There are, however, now no revolutionary societies on the Continent which can do more than sustain their own existence, and the simple meaning of the announcement is that Roberts has gone abroad for a summer tour to be paid for out of the Fenian funds, and that in order to keep up, during his absence, the spirits of the poor laborers and servant-girls who supply the money, the organ of the Republican party aids him in the swindle by giving as much pompous publicity as possible to his movements.

PERHAPS owing to the obvious and complete failure of the eight-hour agitation and the statutes it extorted to relieve the laboring classes, there appears to be just now an incipient epidemic of co-operative associations. The primary object of most of these is to provide cheap bread, or cheap provisions, or cheap houses for their members, whose daily avocations remain as diverse as ever, but whose savings are combined to reduce that expense of living which they can least afford. It cannot be amiss to remind the movers in these enterprises that not only is success not certain nor vouchsafed to every membership, but that the highest can never be reached, no matter what their business ability, nor how careful the selection of their associates, nor how large their dividends, unless they make their own improvement a part of their scheme. The interest which attaches to the Rochdale example is due not half so much to the effect upon the imagination of the rapid multiplication of the capital, the warehouses, the factories, and the profits of the "Pioneers," as to the fruits of their educational fund—their reading-room, lecture hall, library—their added self-respect, their fixed integrity in all their dealings. We should like to perceive some indications that our associations are animated by other than purely economical motives, and have adopted in spirit the preamble of the Rochdale constitution: "The aim of this society shall be to elevate the moral and social condition of its members by receiving from them voluntary subscriptions for the purchase in common of groceries, clothing, etc."

THE colored voters in Washington number, we believe, about 8,300, and the white voters about 9,800. The municipal election on Monday last resulted, however, in the success of the Republican party by a majority of something like 1,500 votes. The negroes appear to have taken the greatest possible interest in the election, and there appears to have been no division of the colored vote. The negroes are said to have had the ballots distributed to them in their churches on the day before, and on the morning of election day were at the polling-places at dawn. Or rather they were as near the polling-places as they could get, for in some of the precincts the lines in which they were formed to take their turns at the boxes were several squares in length. The feeling which has so strenuously opposed the admission of negro votes into the ballot-box appears to have done its best by means of the pettiest sort of annoyances to make the negro as uncomfortable as possible while he cast it. In some precincts the arrangements for

receiving the ballots were so bad that negroes in line at five o'clock in the morning deposited their ballots at three o'clock in the afternoon. And of course there were counterfeit tickets, and every sort of attempt to deceive the ignorant. These were singularly unsuccessful, for the negroes seem to have been effectually forewarned. On the whole, this second of the elections since negro suffrage was declared the law on and below Mason and Dixon's line is not different from what may be expected in all the South. We know nothing of the candidates, but certainly the behavior of the negroes while getting ready to vote and while voting ought to cheer most of our Thomases except Benjamin Franklin Perry.

THE Evansville *Sentinel*, a Democratic journal of Indiana, has nominated R. E. Lee for the next Presidency, and Mr. Johnson has been making a careful speech-making tour to Raleigh, and intends making another to Boston. These two facts would seem to indicate a scarcity of available candidates in the Democratic party, which is in very marked contrast with the abounding and superabounding plenty that exists among the Republicans. Mr. Johnson's chances, which we suppose are indefinitely greater than they were a year ago, he is, perhaps, not diminishing by his journey. His speeches are rather amusing here and there, but nothing like so exciting as those of 1866. They want the old energy and wild hitting, and conform more closely to the law of speeches, which is that they strongly incline to be twaddle. This is in the true vein:

"When looking back forty years ago, and returning here to-day, I begin to enquire where are those I left behind? In the language of poetry itself,

'The friends of my childhood, where are they?'

Echo answers, 'Where?' Some have emigrated and gone to other lands. Some have complied with the inexorable and irresistible call, and have passed to that undiscovered country from whose bourne no traveller returns. I again ask,

'Friends of my childhood, where are they?' etc., etc.

Mr. Seward's performances were likewise quite judicious, and "the country is happy," though we confess—man is never content—to a wish that the Associated Press and the special reporters would be a little less particular about taking down every word for print. Still, the exact truth is best, we suppose.

THERE has been no prediction of the price of stocks on the London market telegraphed by the Cable since Thursday last—at least none has been published by the papers here. From this we infer that the news agent has found out himself what the rest of the world knew long ago, that if he knew before the market opened what the price of stocks would be, all he had to do to make an enormous fortune was to speculate the day before and keep his information to himself instead of sending it over the Cable. He has, therefore, we trust, been operating vigorously during the past week, and, we have no doubt, is by this time able to retire from business and travel. There is something absurd in having a man of such parts engaged in making up despatches for the papers. He telegraphed three or four days ago, by-the-bye, that "there was an intense and painful feeling of anxiety throughout Europe" about the fate of the Emperor Maximilian. Now, the news agent knows as well as we do that outside the small circle of Maximilian's relatives and personal friends—that is, about 400 people out of 200,000,000—not a man, woman, or child in Europe has eaten less, laughed less, or slept less on account of Maximilian, or would feel more than a little touch of disgust even if they heard he had been burnt alive. Therefore, when the news agent telegraphed this he telegraphed what was not true; he put the newspapers to heavy expense; he tried to impose upon the public, and he neglected his legitimate business.

THE war on the Plate River is still continued, the allies having declined the proffered mediation of the United States. A long letter to our minister, Mr. Washburn, gives the Paraguayan version of this complicated struggle, and is, to the best of our knowledge, accurate in its general statement of causes and purposes. The Oriental Republic, better known as Uruguay, is the bone of contention, that territory of



fering to Brazil the supplies which her own soil, at least under her present wretched labor system, denies her, and jointly to Brazil and the Argentine Republic the control of the Plate River and its tributaries. Paraguay has espoused the cause of Uruguay not only in the interest of its own trade, but to prevent a similar absorption of itself by the same powers, for its water-courses afford the shortest and only practicable communication between Brazil and its interior province, Matto Grosso, which, as may be imagined, has annoyed not a little the government of that unwieldy empire. So far as we can foresee, the war will not end to the satisfaction of the allies.

THE last incident of importance in the history of the English Reform bill is the passage, by a considerable majority, of an amendment depriving all boroughs containing less than 10,000 inhabitants of the right to representation. This is the natural consequence of the fact that everybody is now at last beginning to see that the new bill really establishes household suffrage, and household suffrage in small boroughs means universal suffrage, and universal suffrage in many, if not most, of these little constituencies has been shown by experience to mean the purchase of the borough by any man rich enough and ambitious enough to pay for it. A rule fixing a measure of population for a constituency was, therefore, absolutely necessary to the preservation of even a semblance of electoral purity.

JOHN STUART MILL obtained for his motion in favor of female suffrage, in the House of Commons, probably twice the number of votes that anybody expected for it, but the jocular way in which it was treated by his opponents showed how far he still is from success. We doubt very much, too, whether the lowering of the suffrage will not diminish women's chance of sharing it. Whatever favor the doctrine of female suffrage has as yet met with in England is confined to the "thinking liberals." With the working-men it has made little if any progress, and, what is, perhaps, more remarkable, at the great conference of working-men held at Geneva a year or two ago, the feeling of the body leaned strongly even against the admission of women to full competition in various branches of industry.

SINCE 1815 there has been no such assembling of sovereigns at Paris as is likely to be witnessed this midsummer. The Emperor Alexander arrived there on Sunday, and King William a little later; Francis Joseph will follow at his leisure. Victor Emanuel is not announced nor, we believe, expected to be a guest of Napoleon's, although it would be worth his while to learn from headquarters how to manage the *coup d'état* which the correspondents of the English press—even the best informed—are freely attributing to him *in petto*. The publicity thus given to his intention is the best reason for not believing in it, since except through a surprise how could he ever hope to subjugate the Parliament and people? Mazzini and Garibaldi, instead of being impracticable radicals, would become the necessity of the situation, while the very longest road to reconciliation with the Church, which the King is said to yearn for, is that which he proposes, or others for him, to take. The settlement of the Roman question will arrive with the first pretext for revolution.

ON Friday the bill adopting the new constitution of the North German Confederation passed its second reading in the Prussian Lower Chamber, and its success being now assured it will for the first time be submitted to the Senate, whose action has never been doubtful. The opponents of the bill among the Deputies were chiefly those who, as members of the late Diet, had already given full expression to their dissent and had consequently very few fresh arguments to offer. There was, besides, the example of Saxony, which most of all it was feared would reject the constitution, but which was, if we mistake not, the first state to sanction it. The remainder will chime in as a matter of course, and practically that rest which the Cable reports Bismark to have craved of the King, as soon as the constitution should have been definitely established, has already begun. That his retirement from office is more than temporary no one who reflects that the Lux-

embourg question is rather deferred than settled, and the Eastern question is like an open wound, will believe or (may we not say?) hope.

#### EVERY MAN HIS OWN VICE-PRESIDENT.

MR. PHILLIPS says he will not believe that the prejudice against the negro has disappeared until he sees a negro nominated for the vice-presidency or competing favorably with major-generals. Now, one reason why there is a prejudice against the negroes is that they have as yet as a race accomplished nothing great in war, or politics, or art, or literature. If anybody will take the trouble to listen to an ordinary lecture or speech against negro equality, he will find that it is this absence of performance and of what the French call "preuves," in the great work of civilization, which forms the basis of the whole argument. Were there one or two or three flourishing negro states built up by negro industry, honesty, skill, and valor, the negro color and conformation would go for nothing. It is the fact that there is not, and has not been in historic times, any such state which causes the negro to be reviled, persecuted, and enslaved, and which has created the current belief in his moral and intellectual inferiority. Whether this is a good foundation for such a belief, we cannot discuss here. But we must remember that all individuals of all races are judged by this self-same standard. We all owe any special respect we meet with from our fellow-men to our performances and not to our promise, or supposed capacity. In other words, everybody has a "prejudice" against the man who has achieved nothing.

Therefore we say that, now that the American negroes are free, their true friend is he who says to them: "Work, work! show that you are industrious and can get rich as white men do; obey the laws and respect your neighbor's property—that is, show that you have the political sense on which states are formed, and by which they are preserved; cultivate your minds, show that your intellectual inferiority has hitherto been accidental and not real. When you are rich and shrewd and educated and numerous you will be powerful, and power will bring you inevitably political and social honor, and *nothing else will or ought*. Peoples are great and respected when they have done the things on which greatness and respectability are founded."

Therefore the nomination of a colored man to the vice-presidency will be, whenever it comes, the sign not of the disappearance of prejudice only, but also of the things which cause the prejudice. Colored men need not, therefore, trouble their heads about it any more than about the presidency. It is not necessary either to their happiness, comfort, or respectability. It could not make them happy, comfortable, or respectable unless they had other things previously; and when they have the other things the vice-presidency is sure to follow, or even more honorable positions than the vice-presidency. When the ablest men at the bar are negroes we shall, we hope, have a negro Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court, but not, we trust, one minute sooner. Negroes are not entitled to high rewards simply for being black any more than they deserved slavery or ill-treatment for not being white. We want fair play in this matter for everybody, but we cannot have fair play if the gammon of the negro's injudicious friends cannot be checked. It is no more a hardship to the black to be excluded from high office because he does not command the confidence of his fellow-citizens than it is to the white man. If a negro has a right to be made a vice-president in order to show that people have no prejudice against him, so has everybody else in the community, and exclusion from high office is a slur. The only remedy for this sort of thing is the admission of every adult male and female, not insane, a pauper or a criminal, to the vice-presidency or some other post of honor. The thing may be done by a simple amendment to the Constitution declaring every citizen of the United States fulfilling the above conditions to be a vice-president on taking the oath of office. Whether we should be any better off when this was done would remain to be seen; but we each of us at least would have the consolation of knowing that it was no longer in the power of nominating conventions to ignore our claims. If we stood on Mr. Phillips's ground we should go further, and insist on having a negro vice-admiral. As long as this office is monopolized by a white man we should, reasoning from his premises, assert fearlessly that there can be no security for the colored race.

## Notes.

## LITERARY.

BUSINESS among the publishers is getting very dull, and will be duller before it is livelier. Messrs. Hurd & Houghton are going to publish very soon a volume of poems, the title of which is not yet decided upon, by Miss Phoebe Cary, a pleasant singer with some natural notes. "Conversations on Ritualism," a book of Hurd & Houghton's which we have before announced, will soon be for sale, and except these two it is quite probable that this house will put forth nothing new till fall. The firm is quite busy with its improvements at the "Riverside" establishment at Cambridge. — D. Appleton & Co. add to former announcements but one new publication, a book entitled "The Human Element in the Inspiration of the Sacred Scriptures," by J. F. Curtis, D.D. — By the mention of "Conversations on Ritualism," we are reminded that Messrs. Pott & Amory, of this city, and the Rev. Orby Shipley, who edited the essays which, as a book, are known by the title of "The Church and the World," have entered into an arrangement under which an edition of that series of essays, a presentation of the ritualistic case, will be put upon the market at a reasonably low rate. Mr. Shipley is now editing a series of semi-monthly papers, entitled "Tracts for the Day," which those interested in the new movement may get from Pott & Amory. — Messrs. Roberts Brothers, of Boston, announce a volume of poems which will be very gladly welcomed by all lovers of poetry, its author being Jean Ingelow. As we guess, the new volume will not be different in any important respect from the old. But it is not saying anything damaging or depreciatory to say this of Miss Ingelow, in whom there is not, as in most late minor poets, much of trick or mannerism soon tiring and disgusting the reader, but everything is honest, simple, and sweet. The ballad of "Winstanley," which some years ago was published in the *Boston Transcript*, if we remember right, is a part of the new volume, but by far the larger part has never yet been printed. "A Story of Doom" is the name of the book. — Messrs. Ticknor & Fields announce "The Life of Colonel Ulrich Dahlgren," by his father the Rear-Admiral; "A Lover's Diary," a poem by Miss Alice Cary; and Hawthorne's "Note-Book in America," of which we have had probably a good half in *The Atlantic Monthly*. It will be followed by his "Note-Book in England" and his "Note-Book in Italy," of which, so far as we know, the public has seen nothing. The volume of Thackeray's "Early and Late Papers" is not to be immediately succeeded, we believe, by the other volumes which the editor's preface seems to half promise us. — "Is it I?" is a little book by Dr. H. B. Storer which Lee & Shepard will publish. It is a companion for the "Why Not?" of the same author—a book to be recommended. — "Ohio during the War," which citizens of that State will read with great satisfaction, is a forthcoming book, by Mr. Whitelaw Reid, which will be published immediately by Messrs. Moore, Wiltach & Baldwin, of Cincinnati.

—An author now resident in Boston writes to us in behalf of a work which he has recently published. "What I would like," he remarks, "would be a short notice under your book-heading, saying that you would recur to this again; and then in the next week or week after examine the argument." How easy it seems as he explains the process! It is partly out of consideration for him, and not wholly from a sense of duty to the public, that we hereby decline to accede to his request.

—Mr. John Harvard Ellis is the editor of the works of Anne Bradstreet, the earliest of American female poets, who, as "A Gentlewoman of New England," published in 1650 a volume of poems which are well enough known. The volume hardly keeps the promise of its title, which announces the contents as "Several Poems compiled with great variety of wit and learning, full of delight; wherein specially is contained a complete discourse and description of the four elements, constituting, ages of man, seasons of the year, together with an exact epitome of the three first monarchies, viz., the Assyrian, Persian, Grecian, and Roman commonwealths from the beginning to the end of their last

king, with divers other serious and pleasant poems." To the poems are now prefixed seventy-six pages of Mrs. Bradstreet's other writings in prose and verse, now for the first time published; also, a biographical introduction and notes from the hand of Mr. Ellis. The book will contain a portrait, on India paper, of Governor Bradstreet, and a woodcut of the old Bradstreet house in North Andover, from the hand of Mr. Henry Marsh, a remarkable engraver, whose work—what of it we have seen—would add value to any book of which it should form a part. The volume, which is from the press of John Wilson & Son, is sold only to subscribers. A small edition is published by Mr. Abram E. Cutter, of Charlestown, Mass., who, if this venture proves successful, will publish, in the same expensive and beautiful style, the works of Michael Wigglesworth and other early poets of the country.

—The Rev. N. S. Folsom, formerly of Meadville, Pa., now of Concord, Mass., has been for years engaged in translating Tischendorf's text of the Four Gospels, and has been intending to publish the four immediately after the publication in Germany of the eighth edition, on which Tischendorf is at present laboring. The work goes on but slowly, however, in the hands of the great German, who has as yet advanced no further than into the first chapters of Mark. Mr. Folsom has therefore determined, in case there is much more delay, to publish separately next autumn his translation of Matthew according to Tischendorf's last edition. This rendering will be an attempt at the most literal exactness. The notes will always give the literal rendering if the text departs from it, and for the rest will extend not much beyond the explanation and support of deviations from the common versions. The various readings of Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Meyer, and others, so far as the difference from the common version can be made to appear by translation, will also be given, together with the manuscript authorities on which the more important various readings depend.

—Mr. Armand, a pseudonymous German novelist, gives a chapter of American history in his recent "Friedrichsburg: die Colonie des deutschen Fürsten-Vereins in Texas" (Leipzig, 1867). It appears that some philanthropic German princes, having heard of the swindling to which German immigrants were exposed in this country, decided, in 1830, to buy land in America, and to offer it to such of their subjects as desired to remove. Deeming Texas a fit territory for their purpose, they sent thither several emissaries to report on the land. Two German gentlemen, named Fischer and Müller, residing at that time in Texas, got wind of the intended purchase, and obtained of the Mexican Congress that part of the plateau of Texas extending from the Rio Llano north to the bend of the Colorado from east to west, on condition that they should within a fixed period people the grant with a certain number of colonists. The German princes now came forward and bought of these speculators their title for the snug sum of \$200,000, and straightway advertised their paradise throughout Germany. Prince Carl Sohns zu Braunfels, who, the next year, first essayed a settlement with two shiploads of emigrants, found the new purchase to be far distant from the sea-coast and from the American colonies, and as the path to it lay through the "howling wilderness," wisely abandoned all idea of seeking it. He bought a new tract of land at the mouth of the Guadalupe River, and having founded New Braunfels, shortly afterwards himself departed for Germany. All was flourishing till the arrival, some months later, of 8,000 immigrants, which caused at once the greatest scarcity of food and the most disastrous epidemics. In consequence, fifty families were despatched one hundred miles north to the Piedernales River, and there founded Friedrichsburg, not far from the Rio Llano and the Fischer-Müller grant. With such a basis a taking historical romance for Germans who look with longing eyes towards America could hardly be difficult to construct.

—In 1862 the Governor-in-Chief of the Windward Islands sent to the British Colonial Secretary a despatch in which he stated that the disease of leprosy was increasing in Barbadoes and the other islands within his jurisdiction, and in view of this fact and the fact that the disease was popularly believed to be incurable, and therefore, to the great misery of the lepers, was at once feared and neglected, the governor suggested that the secretary should call on all gov-



errors of British colonies for a report on the disease, its proper treatment, etc., etc. The Royal College of Physicians, at the secretary's request, prepared a list of questions to be answered by the governors, and promised to collate the documentary evidence which should be collected. They did so, and have just published a report which embraces a very complete account of the lepers of the British Empire from the French of Tracadie in New Brunswick to the lepers of India and Hong Kong. A brief essay on the Scriptural leprosy is among the contents of the book, which altogether is interesting not to the physician alone but even to the general reader, the leprosy being of all diseases to which men are subject the one which most forcibly addresses itself to the imagination. The book is among the latest importations of Messrs. Scribner, Welford & Co.—Other new works received by the same firm are Mr. McCulloch's "Treatise on Metallic and Paper Money and Banks," "Essays on Reform," "Questions for a Reform Parliament,"—including several questions of importance in any free government,—Edward Freeman's "History of the Norman Conquest of England," and a "Manual of Moral Philosophy," by William Fleming, D.D.

—A volume of memoirs, so very interesting that we had thought of urging their translation and republication in this country, turns out to be a literary forgery of a very inexcusable kind. Forgeries in the interest of a faith, or for money for the forger's pocket, or for mystification, are susceptible of some palliation or slight excuse. This recent one, however, seems to have been nearly objectless. The title of the book is "Anne-Paule-Dominique de Noailles, Marquise de Montagu," and it was published by the children of that lady, and under the sanction of the House of Noailles, the editor being a M. Auguste Callet. The facts and details, it was stated, were all taken from Madame de Montagu's journal and correspondence, which, it was said, furnished in abundance materials of the most trustworthy character. Callet has since asserted and proved in a court of justice—the Tribunal Civil de la Seine—that many of the most affecting and striking incidents in the book he invented; that the journal above-mentioned was not in existence when he composed and wrote the "Memoirs;" that fragments of an imperfect copy were all of it that was extant, and that, in doing his work as editor, he was compelled to betake himself to his imagination. He brought suit against the Duc de Noailles to recover additional payments which he claimed. He failed; for the court held that he had been sufficiently paid for his labor, and that his suit was an inequitable attempt to extort more money than he had earned by making the fraud known.

—The exclusive right to publish the works of the late Alfred de Musset, which has hitherto vested in the house of Charpentier, expires next month, and the property in them reverts to his brother Paul and a female relative. The net income from their sale amounting to sixty thousand francs yearly, the publisher has not viewed without alarm the termination of his monopoly—nor without precautions. Hundreds of thousands of copies, it is said, he has manufactured in advance of the demand, expecting for some time longer to discourage competition, and reap his abundant reward. But the heirs are not disposed to endure this attempt upon their rightful revenue—lawful revenue, perhaps, but this is what the *Société des gens de lettres*, to which M. Paul Musset belongs, is about to establish, if it can, by judicial process. The question is an interesting one, in a literary as well as in a legal point of view, and however it may be decided, there will probably be very little admiration for the sharp practice of the defendant.

—Among recent French books we notice two—a memoir of Prince Eugene de Beauharnais, by M. Fourmestraux, which is said to excel rather in its superb typography than in the novelty or the completeness of its contents; and *Les Postes en 1848*, by the veteran journalist, M. Etienne Arago. In narrating his installation at the head of the post-office bureau, in the name of the Republic, he tells how he was obliged to depose his predecessor by writing his dismissal on the spot. Reading over his hasty scrawl, he remarked that he had committed a grammatical error, which, for a man of letters, was no light matter. But, he added, one may be permitted to write bad French (*en mauvais français*) when one has fought like a good Frenchman (*en bon Français*). The joke was capital, but M. Dejean probably failed to appreciate it.

## EDUCATIONAL.

THE Massachusetts Institute of Technology, one of the earliest institutions which has brought into service the national land-grant, has just issued its second annual catalogue, showing a corps of sixteen professors and a company of one hundred and thirty-seven students, who are thus grouped: In the first year of instruction, 64; in the second year, 24; in the third year, 22; and in special courses, 27. The course of studies extends through four years, and during the first two years is preliminary and disciplinary, while in the last two it is professional and technical. Six special courses are open to the choice of students after completing the prescribed instructions of the first two years, namely: 1. Mechanical engineering; 2. Civil and topographical engineering; 3. Practical chemistry; 4. Geology and mining; 5. Building and architecture; 6. Science and literature. The degrees which are to be conferred will correspond with these six departments of the school. The institute now occupies the spacious and beautiful edifice erected for it on the Back Bay lands in Boston, adjacent to the equally fine edifice of the Boston Society of Natural History. Furnished with an able and enterprising corps of instructors, and situated in the centre of the manufacturing and industrial life of the Eastern States, near to the manifold libraries and collections of Boston, this scientific school is unquestionably destined to exert a most powerful influence in promoting a knowledge of the practical sciences, and in training with thoroughness the inventive, investigating, and constructive powers of New England young men.

—The building erected for the Yale School of the Fine Arts, by the liberality of Mr. A. R. Street, of New Haven, at a cost of \$175,000, has just been thrown open to the students and the public. The well-known collection of Colonel Trumbull's historical paintings has been transferred to the new rooms, together with some other works of art belonging to Yale College, including Allston's "Jeremiah," lately presented by Professor S. F. B. Morse, and a marble statue of "Ruth," by G. B. Lombardi, lately given by W. Thompson, Esq., an American gentleman resident in France. One of the most interesting pictures of the collection is the picture by Smybert representing "Bishop Berkeley and his Family," generally admitted to be the earliest picture embracing more than one figure ever painted in this country. This additional circumstance is worth mentioning: Smybert came over from England with Dean Berkeley to be the head of a department or school of the fine arts which was to constitute a part of the dean's proposed university. The scheme for founding a new institution having failed, the library of Yale College soon became the possessor of a fine collection of books, presented by the "Dean's bounty;" and now the Yale Art School counts among its historical art-treasures a portrait of the philosopher, painted by the professor elect for the dean's proposed "art school."

—The "New Jersey School Law" recently enacted by the Legislature of the State—a re-casting of the school system of the commonwealth—deserves to be carefully studied by all the administrators of public instruction. It is now one of the most compact school laws in the country. Among its good features may be mentioned the power bestowed on the State Board of Education; the organization of State, county, and city examiners to determine the qualifications of teachers; the assessment of a town-tax, not less than two nor more than four dollars, for every child in the commonwealth. On the other hand, the district system is still maintained, and corporal punishment is by law prohibited. The Annual Report on Public Instruction in New Jersey for 1866 has also just been published.

—While the State of New Jersey is prohibiting by law the infliction of corporal punishment in schools, a committee in Cambridge, Massachusetts, of which Prof. W. P. Atkinson is chairman, have come to an opposite conclusion. They advise that the power to punish remain as heretofore in the hands of the teacher, with the exception that corporal punishment shall not be inflicted on girls over twelve years of age. It is said with great truth that if the power to punish is taken away from the teacher his authority is seriously impaired, and the school discipline is weakened. On the other hand, teachers must be held responsible for the abuse of the power by judicious oversight of

the school committee, and it is certain that in many places the schools would be greatly improved by diminishing the whipping. All over the country the theory and practice of school punishment are now under discussion.

### THE JESUITS IN NORTH AMERICA.\*

MR. PARKMAN gives in the present volume the second part of his history of the short-lived French dominion in North America. His first volume described the abortive attempt of the Huguenots to establish themselves in Florida, the cruel destruction of their colony by the Spaniards, and the vengeance wrought upon them in turn by the Frenchman de Jourgue, together with a narrative of the gallant and useful career of Samuel de Champlain, the founder of Quebec. His third volume is to be devoted to that French exploration of the Valley of the Mississippi of which the memory still subsists in so many mispronounced names, from the Gulf of Mexico to Lake Superior. But whatever may be the interest of these narratives, and the importance of the facts on which they rest, it is certain that this touching story of the Jesuit missions in Canada is no less dramatic and instructive. It has peculiar and picturesque interest from the fact that the enterprise was, in a great measure, a delusion and a failure—a delusion consecrated by the most earnest conviction and the most heroic effort, a failure redeemed by the endurance of incalculable suffering. The Jesuit undertaking as it stands described in Mr. Parkman's pages has an indefinitely factitious look—an expression intensely *subjective*, as we call it nowadays. Its final results were null, and its success at no time such as to gratify the reason of the missionaries. Nevertheless they persisted through unprecedented hardship and danger, baptizing, preaching, rebuking, exploring, and hoping. Their faith, patience, and courage form a very interesting chapter in the history of the human mind, and it is to our perception more as contributions to that history than as a stage of the process of our American civilization that their labors are valuable. It is very true that these labors were not without a certain permanent and wholesome effect. The missionaries aimed at the sky, and their missiles reached the tree-tops. Their example and exhortations, if they failed to elevate the Indians to the practice of even the simpler virtues, or to make them good Catholics, made them to a certain extent bad heathens, and softened their most characteristic usages. But, on the whole, we repeat it is when regarded as a portion of the history of the Church and the ecclesiastical spirit that their exploits are most interesting. It is our impression that they share this character with most of the various Jesuit missions—certainly with those of the great Xavier. When the human mind wishes to contemplate itself at its greatest tension—its greatest desire for action, for influence and dominion—when it wishes to be reminded of how much it is capable in the direction of conscious hope and naked endurance, it cannot do better than read the story of the early Jesuit adventurers.

Mr. Parkman's narrative is founded chiefly on the reports regularly transmitted to France by the active members of the order, and from which, frequent as are his citations, we cannot help wishing that he had given more copious extracts. These reports were minute, frequent, and rigorously truthful—that is, if the writers told of miracles and portents they told of none but such as they themselves believed. The relations are marked apparently by great simplicity of tone, great credulity, and very great discrimination with regard to the Indian character. The missionaries were keen observers of the manners and impulses of the savages, as, indeed, it was of vital importance to their own personal safety that they should be. The Indians were the most unpromising material for conversion. Generally they were obstinate, intractable, and utterly averse to the reception of light; occasionally, however, they would consent to become Christians; but on such a basis! Their piety was more discouraging than their obduracy. Mr. Parkman gives a very vivid picture of the state of the savage populations at the time of the early settlements—a picture beside which the old-fashioned portrait of the magnanimous and rhetorical red man is a piece of very false coloring. Mr. Parkman knows his subject, and he mentions no single trait of intelligence, of fancy, or of character by which the Indian should have a hold on our respect or his fate a claim to our regret. The cruelty of the Canadian tribes is beyond description. They had no imagination in their religion; they confined what little they possessed to the science of torture. A prominent feature of this science was their voracious cannibalism, for in the enthusiasm of the practice they frequently neglected to await the death of their victim. When perchance they did, they danced about him as he stood in the stocks, shouting into his ears who would eat this morsel and who the other. Add to this their incredible squalor, their ignorance of any rule of

decency, however elastic, the utterly graceless and sterile character of their legends and traditions, and finally the dismal severity of the climate in which they managed to support existence—their ceaseless struggle with winter, famine, and pestilence—and we have a conception as accurate as it is painful of the life of our aboriginal predecessors, and of the civilization which flourished on this continent during the long black ages in which Europe lay basking in light—such as it was. Let us not despair of our literature. During the lifetime of those great writers and adventurers about whom French and English critics write the brilliant articles which occasionally minister to our discouragement, Hurons and Iroquois were biting off each other's finger-ends on the shores of the St. Lawrence, and Mohawks, in the beautiful valley which perpetuates their virtues, were laying open the skulls of pious Frenchmen.

We have no space to trace in detail the various incidents and vicissitudes of the Jesuit mission. It lasted for forty years; and during this period was made illustrious by every form of heroism and martyrdom. Its failure was the result of several causes—of the purely religious character of the French establishments, of the superficial and mechanical nature of the conversions, and of the ceaseless internecine warfare of the different tribes, terminating in the supremacy of the Iroquois, the most cruel and intractable of all, and the extirpation of the Hurons, among whom the Jesuits had found their best proselytes. Quebec and Montreal were wholly priest-governed—the latter, indeed, priest-settled. The emigrations from France were under ecclesiastical auspices, and entirely wanting in any desire to turn the material resources of the country to account. On the contrary, all excessive prosperity, all superfluous comfort, were discouraged and prohibited. The motive of emigration was a strictly sentimental one, and the enterprise undertaken only for the greater glory of God. The interests of this life were consulted at most only in so far as to secure proper defence from attack. Agriculture was neglected, trade restricted, and the neophytes were instructed only in the Catechism. An Ursuline convent was founded at Quebec, and a number of enthusiastic volunteers were recruited among the ladies of France. To the female members of the mission Mr. Parkman has devoted a vividly-written chapter. The reader will readily understand that among those grim celibates in those snow-choked pine forests the interests of population were left to take care of themselves; and he will transfer a glance of approval down the map to the latitudes where prolific Dutch farmers and Puritan divines were building up the State of New York and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. In 1650 Gabriel Drulletes, one of the Jesuit brothers, made an expedition across the country from Quebec to Boston, where he had occasion to be forcibly struck with the difference in the character the French and English settlements.

"He says," writes Mr. Parkman, "that Boston (meaning Massachusetts) could alone furnish four thousand fighting men, and that the four united colonies could furnish forty thousand souls. His numbers may be challenged; but, at all events, the contrast was striking with the attenuated and suffering bands of priests, nuns, and fur-traders on the St. Lawrence. About forty thousand persons had come from Old to New England with the resolve of making it their home; and, though this immigration had virtually ceased, the natural increase had been great. The necessity, or the strong desire, of escaping from persecution had given the impulse to Puritan colonization; while, on the other hand, none but good Catholics, the favored class of France, were tolerated in Canada. These had no motive for exchanging the comforts of home and the smiles of fortune for a starving wilderness and the scalping-knives of the Iroquois. The Huguenots would have emigrated in swarms, but they were rigidly forbidden. The zeal of propaganda and the fur trade were, as we have seen, the vital forces of New France. Of her feeble population, the best part was bound to perpetual chastity, while the fur-traders rarely brought their wives to the wilderness. . . . To the mind of the Puritan heaven was God's throne; but no less was the earth his footstool. . . . He held it a duty to labor and to multiply, and, building quite as much on the Old Testament as on the New, thought that a reward on earth as well as in heaven waited on those who were faithful to the law. . . . On the other hand, those who shaped the character and, in great measure, the destiny of New France, had always on their lips the nothingness and the vanity of human life."

In heaven alone, then, they found their reward. Their story is far more romantic and touching than that of their Protestant neighbors; it is written in those rich and mellow colors in which the Catholic Church inscribes her records; but it leaves the mind profoundly unsatisfied. Like all sad stories, it carries a moral. What is this moral? However well disinterestedness and self-immolation may work for individuals, they work but ill for communities, however small. The Puritans were frank self-seekers. They withdrew from persecution at home and they practised it here. They have left, accordingly, a vast, indelible trace of their passage through history. The Jesuits worked on a prepared field, in an artificial atmosphere, and it was, therefore, easy for them to be sublime. However they, as a group—a very small group—might embrace suffering and martyrdom, the paternal Church

\* "The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century. By Francis Parkman." Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1867.



courted only prosperity and dominion. The Church was well aware of the truth at which we just hinted—that collective bodies find but small account in self-sacrifice; and it carefully superintended and directed the fervent passion of the Jesuits. The record of these latter in Canada is unstained by persecution, for the simple reason that French Protestants were not allowed to enter their circle. In this circle they freely burned themselves out. The Church could afford it on the part of the Catholic world at large, and as for individuals each had but his own case to manage. Of how well each performed his task, Mr. Parkman's pages are an excellent record. They furnish us, too, with a second inference, more gratifying to human vanity than the other, and that is, that religion, in spite of the commonplace, intellectual form which it has recently grown to assume in many quarters, is essentially bound up with miracles. Only the miracles are a tribute of man to God, and not of God to man. It may be fairly said of the Jesuit missionaries that, in the firmness of their endurance of horrible sufferings, they fairly broke the laws of nature. They broke at least those of their own temperaments. The timid man hourly outfaced impending torture, and the weak outlasted it. When one can boast of such miracles as these, what is the use of insisting on diseases cured by the touch of saintly bones, or of enthusiasts visibly transported in the arms of angels?

### DECLINE OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.\*

MR. MERIVALE has done a good thing in publishing a new edition of his history of "The Last Century of the Roman Republic," no doubt the most compact, accurate, and readable account of this period in the English language. We wish that his plan had permitted him to recast it so far as to make it strictly an introduction to his great work, the chief defect in the plan of which is that it begins at a date (the death of Sulla) which was not an epoch, or the beginning of an historical period, and that it needs, therefore, a more elaborate introduction than he has provided. But, after all, to have done this would have been to write a new work, and it is easy, if one desires, to use the first five chapters of the smaller work as an introduction to the larger. The rest of the volume covers the same ground as the first three volumes of the "Roman Empire." It is, however, by no means an abridgment, but an independent work, written earlier, complete in itself, and fuller in many points than the larger history.

The five chapters which we have mentioned present a rare combination of compression without meagreness, correctness without detail. The statement of the various political questions upon which parties were divided is all that could be desired for a common reader, while those most familiar with the subject can hardly fail to gain in clearness and vividness of notion by their aid. Probably the best of these discussions is that upon the Municipia and Italian Allies, chap. 3; but that upon the Agrarian Laws, chap. 1, is also excellent.

We are surprised to find two or three inaccuracies which one would have thought a careful revision of the work could hardly have failed to detect. Page 9, among the friends of Tiberius Gracchus are mentioned Publius Mucius Scaevola (the consul) and "Lucius Licinius Crassus, the most renowned orator of the forum and the senate." But the orator Crassus, being born B.C. 140, was only seven years old at the time of the tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus, B.C. 133; his first political act was the impeachment of Carbo in 119. Mr. Merivale has here confounded him with Publius Mucius Mucianus, brother of the consul Scaevola, but adopted into the family of the Crassi, and, like all members of the family from which he sprung, distinguished alike for a profound knowledge of law and a broad and liberal statesmanship. A similar mistake is made on page 104, where the tribune whose bold radicalism struck the spark that kindled the flames of the first civil war is called Sulpicius Galba instead of Sulpicius Rufus—a natural enough mistake, perhaps, inasmuch as he is generally known as Sulpicius, and the Galbas are the best known family of the Sulpician gens. We think Mr. Merivale hardly does justice to this brilliant and ardent young reformer in saying that "under the pressure of debt he was ready to sell his services to a patron who could hold out to him at least a distant prospect of sharing the spoils of Mithridates;" and that, "taking Saturninus as his model, he studied only to surpass him in audacity." This is the view commonly taken of Sulpicius; and it is true that he was fiery and headstrong—influenced too much by his passions, it may be. And he had some reason to be—he who had seen his friend Drusus murdered, and his friend Cotta driven into exile by the oligarchy, and whose honest opposition to the illegal candidacy of his friend Caius Caesar had brought upon him the violent ani-

mosity of the powerful family of the Cæsars. But we cannot believe that the intimate and trusted friend of Drusus, Cotta, Lucius Crassus, and the Scaevolæ was the villain that Plutarch paints him. If he had been, we may be very sure that the aristocratically-minded Cicero would never have drawn so attractive a picture of him as that in the "De Oratore," or let him pass without rebuke in the "Brutus."

Another mistake, even more surprising, we find on page 63, as to the office of the *pontifex maximus*. "This engine of government," he says, "could still be handled only by patricians." On the contrary, the plebeians had more weight in the pontifical college than the patricians. A certain number of places in the college were necessarily filled by plebeians; the other places were open to both orders indifferently, so that some members must be, and all might be, plebeians. Mr. Merivale is surely familiar with the memorable canvass for the chief pontificate, B.C. 63, in which the young Cæsar, a patrician, defeated the venerable Catulus, a member of an illustrious plebeian family.

We find on page 8 some instructive remarks upon the social tendencies which Gracchus strove to resist, and which Mr. Merivale regards as at once less harmful and more irresistible than is commonly maintained. There was, it is certain, a rapid centralization taking place in landed property—the same absorption of small freeholds in great estates which is observable in England at the present day; further, the same abandonment of other industries and conversion of immense tracts of land into pasturage which is observable in Scotland. "This has been traced," says Mr. Merivale, "to natural causes, and no legislation could have effectually controlled it." After describing the peculiar adaptedness of Italy to grazing, he adds: "As soon as political restrictions were got rid of (in the subjection of all Italy under one government), properties became enlarged, and embraced tracts of both hill and plain together. Then first these countries began to reap the fruit of their natural capabilities. Proprietors found it their interest to breed cattle in greater numbers, and to reduce in the same proportion their cultivation of grain. An attempt to check by violent means the course of this natural process could hardly fail to be attended with disastrous consequences." To a certain extent this is all true; but in describing this "natural process" Mr. Merivale overlooks two considerations of great importance. What made it possible for Roman nobles and capitalists to raise less grain and turn their broad domains into pastures? What but the fact that the whole civilized world was plundered of grain to supply the Roman market? And what made it possible to buy out and crowd out all the small proprietors, until there was hardly a vestige left at last of the old Italian yeomanry? What but the existence of slavery—the fact that free labor cannot subsist by the side of unpaid labor? One can hardly talk of natural movements, of the laws of supply and demand, in such a state of things as this.

For this very reason, however, that the source of evil lay so far back—behind the fundamental principles on which the Roman polity was based, and which Tiberius Gracchus believed in as religiously as Scipio Nasica—no remedy could have more than a temporary and superficial effect. It may or may not be possible to check the centralization of labor and property in England; at any rate, it has not its origin there in the same causes as in ancient Italy. The modern parallel is not England, but our Southern States; our "poor white trash" owes its existence to the same cause that annihilated the Italian yeomanry. For a class of independent small farmers cannot exist side by side with slave labor in its developed form—that is, owned and worked by capital as an investment. So long as slavery was patriarchal, the slave a member of his master's family, it was probably not inconsistent with the best social relations possible in that rude age. But when *familia* came to mean *gang*, when estates came to be worked like rice and sugar plantations, solely for the profit of absentee proprietors, there was an end of honorable free labor. It is true, the social tendencies which the Gracchi tried to check were irresistible, but only because slavery was in the way—because Roman political economy did not teach that slavery was a blunder, and heathen morality did not teach that it was a sin.

The lessons of Roman history are full of instruction for us Americans, and we know no book better calculated for general readers to learn the facts upon which they rest than that before us. We hope that some publisher will think it worth his while to bring it before the American public.

### MARTIN VAN BUREN ON AMERICAN POLITICS.\*

THE observations of an old and shrewd politician upon the parties and public men of his time, when made without the restraint to which every man in the possession or pursuit of office is naturally subject, could scarcely

\* "The Fall of the Roman Republic. A Short History of the last Century of the Commonwealth. By Charles Merivale, B.D." London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts & Green. 1865.

\* "Political Parties in the United States. By Martin Van Buren, Ex-President of the United States." New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1867.

fail to be interesting to a people so much occupied with politics as are our own. If made in a spirit of perfect candor, and without any reserve except that which a sense of propriety would dictate, such confidences would be delightful reading. But such freedom cannot reasonably be expected from one who has spent two-thirds of his life in training himself to reticence, evasion, and extreme caution. And certainly no one will find such confidences in this volume, and no one who is familiar with the character of its author will be surprised that such is the case. Nevertheless, in so far as the author has given expression to his opinions, he has evidently done so with a desire to be sincere in his statements and candid in his judgments.

The opening of the book—the initial proposition upon which all its arguments are based, and which gives tone to the whole—is so pre-eminently characteristic of Mr. Van Buren, that we can scarcely conceive of its being written by any other man. Yet it has something in it so ludicrous, so suggestive of the mere politician as distinguished from the statesman, that we wonder to see it allowed by the author's friends to appear in print. What do our readers suppose was, to the mind of Mr. Van Buren, the cardinal distinction between the Democratic and the Federal or Whig party? Was it their difference of opinion as to the sphere or mode of government, the relative rights of the State and Federal governments, the proper relations of the executive, legislative and judicial departments, or even questions of banks, tariffs, or the like? Not at all. The great difference between the rival parties which seems to have impressed Mr. Van Buren, and which he makes the text for his entire disquisition upon the political history of the country, is, that the Democratic party prospers when the caucus system is faithfully carried out, and that its opponents do not! Those who suspect us of exaggeration may satisfy themselves of the correctness of this statement by reading the first half-dozen pages of the book.

Having delivered his mind of this conviction, however, Mr. Van Buren does not recur to the subject again; but, like many other preachers, delivers a sermon which has no discoverable connection with his text. He reviews the whole theory and policy of Alexander Hamilton in a manner that will meet the cordial approval of every old-fashioned Democrat, while we do not see how its spirit can be considered unfair, even by those who most heartily sympathize with Hamilton; for, though they may not be willing to admit that Hamilton's doctrines of government were precisely such as Mr. Van Buren attributes to him, they cannot reasonably expect any Jeffersonian Democrat to agree with them upon that point. Mr. Van Buren very frankly confesses the injustice which he, in common with his whole party, had done to Hamilton, in imputing to the latter a desire to bring about a war with France, and fully clears him from that charge. But he maintains that Hamilton was essentially a monarchist, and that his advocacy of protection, a national bank, a funding system, etc., was induced less by a belief of their immediate benefit to the nation, than by a conviction that the patronage thus created, and the interests thus bound up with the Federal Government, were necessary to give that government an overshadowing influence, and to furnish it with those means of corruption which, according to authorities upon which Mr. Van Buren relies, Hamilton deemed to be essential to the working of a popular government.

Among the most interesting and instructive chapters of this work are those which review the claims of the Federal judiciary to lay down a rule of interpretation of the Constitution which shall bind all other departments of the Government. On this subject Mr. Van Buren held to the last the doctrines of Jefferson and Jackson, nor was he moved from them by the prospect of decisions favorable to his party. He dissects the claims put forward on behalf of the Dred Scott decision as keenly as he does the case of Marbury and Madison, in which the Supreme Court for the first time attempted to dictate to the executive department. The two cases have an important point in common with each other, and with the case of the *mandamus* against Governor Dennison, of Ohio, in 1860, in which it was sought to compel him to surrender a person guilty of an act punishable by the black-laws of Kentucky, but not criminal under the laws of Ohio. In all these cases the court gave a long expression to its views upon the merits, and concluded with deciding that it had no jurisdiction of the controversies. The Ohio case had not been decided when Mr. Van Buren wrote; but he clearly sets forth the impropriety of this mode of treating the subject as illustrated by the other cases. Nor can he resist the temptation to point out the fact that the chief-justice who delivered the Dred Scott decision, and the President who referred to it as conclusive upon all departments of the Government, were both old Federalists, who imported the heresy into the Democratic party. The evils which would result from the admission of such supremacy in the courts are forcibly stated by Mr. Van Buren; and this part of his book deserves the study of every one who desires to form sound views upon the theory of politics.

The writer becomes less ingenuous as he approaches the period of his own active participation in public life. He could not bring himself to admit the unfairness of the manner in which his party dealt with John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay from 1825 to 1829, nor the general lapse of the Democratic party from its original doctrines in respect to protection. He endeavors to account for Henry Clay's advocacy of a high tariff by imputing it to a desire to secure the favor of the disbanded Federalists; but it is difficult to reconcile this theory with the notorious fact that New England, which was the stronghold of Federalism, was almost unanimous in its opposition to the protectionist tariffs of 1816 and 1824. It would have been more generous and, we think, more just to give the same credit for sincerity to Clay that the writer freely gives to Hamilton.

Mr. Van Buren did not live to see the destruction of slavery, and evidently wrote at a period in which that result was looked for only in far distant ages. He almost ignores the subject; it may be because he had no profound convictions in relation to it, or it may be merely because he did not live to complete his review of political history. The brief allusions which he makes to the contests arising out of the "domestic institution" create a painful impression of his insincerity in 1848, and betray throughout the politician rather than the statesman. This, however, is no more than was to be expected.

The work, as a whole, has much interested us; and we are glad to learn that it is to be followed by a biography of its author, to be prepared by Mr. Charles H. Hunt from materials left by Mr. Van Buren himself. The ex-President was not a model statesman, and was obliged by his ambition to use some tools of doubtful character; but he was not so bad or so unwise as his political opponents believed while he was in power. Yet he introduced a system of political management which has inflicted great evils on the country, and his name will probably never cease to be associated with the deterioration of politics which has inevitably followed the pursuit of office for the sake of profit, rather than from a desire to serve the public good.

#### THE PUBLIC DEBT.\*

IT is unfortunate for the country that its attention is so much occupied on financial questions by men wholly uneducated in political economy. We use the term education, in its properly limited sense, as that mental training and discipline which enable the individual to think clearly and correctly. An educated political economist is not one who has thoroughly learned the banking business, but one who can reason correctly, or, at least, is sure not to reason falsely, on financial subjects, and who, where he lacks knowledge, is fully conscious of his own ignorance. This education must be had before the mind is absorbed by the active business of life or never. If he begins at the desk he will be, in finance, what the commercial college book-keeper is in mercantile life.

Such is clearly the case with Mr. Gibbons. He exhibits all that narrowness of view, that adhesion to pet notions, and that inability to see things from more than one standpoint which mark the so-called practical man, and distinguish him from the man of thought and education. Like most such men, he thinks that the entire social system is kept in motion by the particular operation in which he has been engaged. Loans, deposits, circulation, and specie are the four elements which make up his universe. Of the subjects of his book he knows no more than an intelligent Illinois farmer. Practically, he knows less; for, if the farmer had been called on to write a book on the liquidation of the national debt, the effect of taxation on the industry of the country, and the management of the Treasury, he would, conscious of his ignorance, have first sought to understand the subject. Wanting this consciousness, Mr. Gibbons does not inform himself, but rushes into print, thinking he knows all about it. He is, indeed, intimately acquainted with financial operations at the great moneyed centre, but is ignorant of all else. He talks and thinks "shop" throughout. "Currency," he says, "is capital; and the currency of a country is the most important part of its capital. The New York Clearing House stepped to the rescue, saved the nation, and moved the rebellion out of its way." We fancy that if Messrs. Maynard & Noyes have felt a proper pride in the reflection that the stirring General War Order No. 1 was written by the President with their ink, they will contest this claim put forth for the Clearing House. How would our armies ever have been organized and our troops disciplined

\* "The Public Debt of the United States. By J. S. Gibbons, author of 'The Banks of New York.'" New York: C. Scribner & Co. 8vo.

"The Financial Economy of the United States Illustrated and Some of the Causes which retard the Growth of California Demonstrated. By John Alexander Ferris." New York: W. J. Widdleton. 12mo.



without the general orders of the War Department? And how, they will triumphantly ask, would the general orders ever have been written if they had not furnished the ink?

Mr. Gibbons's financial speculations being on a par with those which are continually poured forth by the daily press, are worth criticising only where they chance to run with the current of popular opinion. Such are his views of the payment of our debt. He sees the money raised by taxation paid into the Treasury, and seems to think that is the last of it, so far as its effect upon the prosperity of the country is concerned. He therefore exclaims: "The true meaning of taxation is—the withdrawal of capital from labor and commerce." The facts that as fast as the national debt is paid off the bondholders must, either directly, or indirectly by loans to others, employ all the money they receive in building houses, mills, railroads, or other forms of productive capital; that they can do this only by employing bricklayers, carpenters, joiners, and machinists to build; and that, consequently, for every dollar of money applied to the payment of the debt there is a demand for one dollar's worth of skilled labor; that, in other words, the money is simply transferred from one person to another, he does not see at all. The truth of these propositions, and the falsity of the doctrines opposed to them, are so strikingly illustrated by notorious contemporary facts, that it is wonderful everybody does not see them. We have been raising unprecedented sums by taxation, paying some 300 millions, principal and interest, of our debt in a year, in the midst of lamentations about the terrible effect of so great a burden upon the labor of the country, and yet never before has there been such a demand for skilled labor, and never before were the laboring classes so nearly masters of the situation. What, pathetically asks Mr. Gibbon, is to become of the carpenters, caulkers, and joiners if we cease to build ships? But when a good mechanic can get for building houses as much pay as some of the State governors got before the war, is it wonderful that we cannot compete with our neighbors in shipbuilding? This whole will-o'-the-wisp resolves itself into this: that our joiners, caulkers, and glaziers are not going to build ships at three dollars per day when they can get four or five dollars in other employments.

If we want any further demonstration of the puerility of the popular fears which our author seeks to aggravate, let us see what the debt really amounts to when divided among the producing classes. Roughly, it amounts to sixty dollars for each inhabitant. It is due from those who do not hold bonds to those who do. The former are debtors, and the latter creditors, and neither in their relations . . . in the conditions and effects of payment does the case differ from that of a private debt. Let us take as a representative of the debtor class John Smith, carpenter, who owns no bonds at all and supports himself entirely by his daily labor. Making allowance, on the one hand, for his comparative poverty, in consequence of which he pays less than the average of taxes, and, on the other hand, for his wife and three children, whose share of the debt he must assume, it will be a liberal estimate to say that he owes \$180. The annual interest will be \$10 80. Earning \$3 to \$4 per day, the interest costs him three days' labor. An annual payment of \$11 55 will, according to Mr. Gibbons's tables, cancel the whole debt in forty-seven years. The payment, it must be remembered, is made entirely in labor instead of money, because Mr. Smith gets all his money back again in payment for the barn he helps to build for his neighbor, the bondholder. Now, imagine Mr. Gladstone congratulating John Smith on his energy in devoting \$20 of his income to the payment of his debt, several hundred writers proclaiming that if the creditor calls on Mr. Smith for more than twelve dollars in any one year he will paralyze his industry instead of making him work all the harder so as to earn the money, and Mr. Gibbons arguing that you must give him a century and a half to pay up, and the reader has a picture of the case as it stands.

It fortunately happens that the views of the Indian herb doctors of our financial system are so diversified that, like a combination of poisons, they may prove comparatively harmless. Thus, Mr. Gibbons has his antidote in Mr. Ferris, a writer showing all of Mr. Gibbons's ignorance of political economy, without his extensive knowledge of the office of bank-notes. As a California bullionist, his financial views are diametrically opposed to those of Mr. Gibbons. We advise all who read one to read the other also; but we must say to those in doubt about reading either, that two more profitless books do not often appear on so grave a subject.

*Terra Maria.* Threads of Maryland Colonial History. By Edward D. Neill. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.)—The author offers these gleanings from the Congressional Library as supplemental to the contents of previous more or less general histories, and as suggestive of new researches to those who have a care for the past of Maryland. They are

loosely connected in chapters of chronological sequence, and are often as unsatisfactory as a lost trail in the wilderness; but nevertheless they furnish agreeable reading, and the chapter on the several Lords Baltimore, the proprietaries of Maryland, is not lacking in chronological precision or completeness, at least there is no lack for which Mr. Neill is responsible. Chapter vii. is perhaps the most entertaining—"Society during the Eighteenth Century, and Causes which led to Union with other Colonies in a Declaration of Independence."

Altogether, one learns how far the religious toleration commonly attributed to the Catholic founders of the colony was real, sincere, or merely prudential, and how little attention was given to education, seeing that among the paupers and convicts that were shipped to Maryland, as to Virginia and South Carolina, were schoolmasters that were sold like any mechanic for indentured servants, and who sometimes had to be advertised as runaways. Pretty extended and pleasantly minute accounts are given of the Jesuit missions, the Quakers, the Labadists, who resemble the Quakers not slightly, and the Methodists, who have so outgrown the disciples of what was once the State religion that in 1860 there were counted 541 Methodist to 158 Episcopal churches. Thomas Paul, of the Friends, and Jonathan Boucher, of the Church of England, spoke manly words against slavery, and wise prophecies of material and moral ruin. Asbury and Coke, Methodists, would have petitioned the Assembly for the emancipation of the negroes, and tried to obtain the signature of Washington. "He did not see it proper," say they, "to sign the petition," though "he informed us that he was of our sentiments, and had signified his thoughts on the subject to most of the great men of the State." To these protestants the eloquent voice of William Pinkney was added; and all were needed, though ineffectual, to destroy a system for which such laws had been enacted as denounced the scruple that the baptism of negro slaves was synonymous with manumission, and enslaved the white wife of a negro and the offspring of the connection, and in which slave-breeding began to be very early a lucrative pursuit on all the large plantations. In recording all these facts about the now extinct "institution," Mr. Neill shows a sympathy for freedom that is perhaps to be thought creditable in a secretary of the President.

The names of individuals preserved in this book have a special interest for the three contiguous States which Mason and Dixon's Line divides. The chapter on boundary disputes does not allude to that famous survey in which William Penn showed such dexterous diplomacy, though his prolonged contest with Charles Baltimore is described under this head.

*The American Fruit Culturist, etc.* By John J. Thomas. (New York: William Wood & Co. 1867.)—This work is, in fact, a revised and enlarged form of the "Fruit Culturist," a standard work that has passed through many editions during the last twenty years. It is a convenient manual of about 500 pages, excellently adapted to the wants of a very large class who wish a concise and, at the same time, explicit and reliable work on fruit culture. About one-third of the work is devoted to "general principles and practice," the remainder to a more detailed description of special kinds of fruits. In the first part the general principles of the growth are considered, the preparation of soil, transplanting, pruning, grafting, cultivation, preparation of fruits for market, preserving, canning, mishaps, profits and losses, and so on, plainly considered from a practical rather than a theoretical point of view. In the second part, after giving general directions regarding the distinct species of fruits treated of, there is a technical description of the more desirable and standard varieties. The work is illustrated by 481 cuts, the most of which are very good. There are a few minor faults which do not materially mar the usefulness of this truly admirable work; but we notice one error which may put some of its readers to trouble, especially as it relates to a subject quite generally misunderstood. In the directions given for sending scions, cuttings, etc., by mail, the author, after giving excellent directions as to how they should be packed, states (p. 37) "the names should be written with pencil on the ends, and no paper used for this purpose wrapped around them, as it absorbs the moisture," etc. He illustrates this further by two cuts.

Now this is just what Congress, perhaps, intended to allow when it passed the act allowing cuttings, seeds, etc., to be sent by mail at special rates of postage; but the interpretation of the law is different. The Department has officially decided that *no writing whatever*, nor printing—not even a number placed upon the specimens—can be allowed in such a package without violating the law and subjecting the whole to letter postage. "A card, printed or impressed upon the wrapper" of such package, is allowed, nothing more. We are aware that this law is habitually violated through ignorance, and that this strict interpretation very nearly destroys its usefulness; nevertheless thus it stands, and not infrequently postmasters carry it out to the letter (as all are instructed to do), to the serious annoyance of the recipient of such packages. We suggest that the author unite with the farmers and fruit-growers of the country, and have Congress so amend the act that the directions given in this work shall be allowed; every individual concerned will be a gainer and the Government will not be a loser.

*Weights and Measures according to the Decimal System.* By B. F. Craig, M.D. (New York: D. Van Nostrand.)—The most lucid, accurate, and useful of all the hand-books on this subject that we have yet seen. It gives forty-seven tables of comparison between the English and French denominations of length, area, capacity, weight, and the centigrade and Fahrenheit thermometers, with clear instructions how to use them; and to this practical portion, which helps to make the transition as easy as possible, is prefixed a scientific explanation of the errors in the metric system, and how they may be corrected in the laboratory. The book deserves the special attention of teachers.

Articles on any of the subjects usually discussed in this journal will be received from any quarter. If used, they will be liberally paid for; if rejected, they will be returned to the writers on the receipt of the requisite amount of postage stamps.

All Communications which pertain to the literary management of THE NATION should be addressed to the Editor.

### ANOTHER SOUTHERN CHEVALIER.

EX-GOVERNOR PERRY, of South Carolina, is writing letters in the papers of his State loudly conjuring his fellow-citizens to vote against the constitutional convention called under the Reconstruction act, and singing the superiority of military government over any species of government in which negroes are allowed to share, and in fact talking in the wild, senseless, and usually unpractical way with which Southern statesmen have made the world so familiar. His last letter is an unusually good specimen of his style. After discussing the duties of Southern men from the "honorable" point of view, and showing that negroes must not be allowed to vote in South Carolina because the English commonwealth of "1640," the French republics of 1792 and of 1848, and the Mexican republic of our own day had all proved failures, he characteristically winds up with quoting a "spontaneous effusion of a spirited and patriotic heart" in the shape of a letter "from a noble lady of South Carolina." This is the letter, and the whole of it:

"I believe I speak the feeling of at least every woman in South Carolina when I say we heartily endorse your views, and each and every sentiment you express in your recently published letters. We pray you to continue your efforts to save us from such dishonor and such degradation, to which the pain of twenty violent deaths were preferable, and may Heaven aid you in recalling the manhood of our State to a sense of what is due at least their race."

It will be seen that there is not much in it. In fact, there is nothing in it, except the assertion of one woman of South Carolina that all the other women agree with Governor Perry in his "views," and wish he would keep on expressing them. Nevertheless, it is quite evident that Mr. Perry believes that this stuff may be made not only to do duty as an argument, but as a vindication of himself and his later performances; for, says he, "such patriotic and spirited sentiments from one lovely woman fully compensate me for all the criticism and abuse which have been heaped upon me." Now, this little touch, revealing the delight of a middle-aged politician at having some rather extravagant talk of his on a most momentous question approved in a rather silly letter by "one lovely woman," is the kind of thing which makes good and moderate men at the North and elsewhere feel discouraged about the future of the Southern whites. With the best wish in the world to let bygones be bygones, one is puzzled to know how to deal with men to whom politics is so much an affair of sentiment and so little an affair of hard common sense as it seems and has always seemed to be to the bulk of the Southern planters. We suppose it would be difficult to overestimate the extent to which they were seduced into ranting and railing in defence of slavery by the picturesque view of slave society, or the extent to which they were seduced into going to war by the notion that they were "cavaliers," and that it would be pretty to see "cavaliers" with long hair on horseback fighting Puritans on foot. There can hardly be a doubt that thousands of simpletons, old and young, were driven to the field by a thoroughly mediæval sensitiveness to feminine censure or applause. But it caps the climax to find a grave, elderly man, when the fighting is all over, supporting an argument in defence of submission for an indefinite period to military government by quoting a little outburst of admiration of himself and his doings from "one lovely woman."

When a man discusses politics in this frame of mind, it is very difficult to know how to take him or the community which he represents. The ordinary arguments used in political discussions are of little use in dealing with them. There is no use in talking of expediency to gentlemen who are striving to win female smiles, and whom "lovely women" are exhorting "to die twenty violent deaths" sooner than follow the commonplace, sensible course which you recommend to them, and yet expediency is, or ought to be, the weightiest of all considera-

tions in politics. There is no earthly way of making reconstruction pleasant to the South; there is no way of arranging the admission of negroes to political life that will prevent its being a bitter pill for nearly every Southern white. Nobody expects it to be pleasant; but then it is unavoidable. It has to be swallowed. The alternative of such Southerners as do not like it is expatriation or suicide. To sit down as Governor Perry is doing, and whine and bellow against it, with the "lovely women" at his back, is not only not manly—it is silly.

We could understand Southern men seeking to avoid action under the Reconstruction act, and especially in South Carolina, where the negroes are in the majority, if there was the smallest chance that delay would change the situation. It is true that the act prescribes the retention of the Southern States under military government until the qualified majority choose to act; but, then, supposing the other States act, as they are likely to do, no sensible man can suppose that South Carolina would be allowed by Congress to stay out in the cold for an indefinite period. Nothing can be surer than that, if the majority persisted in refusing to bring her in, the minority would be at last allowed to do so. The spectacle of a State governed permanently by military force is one which the people of the North would not long endure.

But Mr. Perry acknowledges now that the majority in South Carolina is against him. He says the negro votes in all districts except one outnumber the whites, and his only hope of defeating the convention lies, he confesses, in the ignorance of the blacks. Many negroes in the interior, he thinks, will not have heard of the convention or know anything about it, and others will vote with their employers. But this is a defence which time, and a very short time, too, is sure to remove. Let the convention be defeated now through negro ignorance or subserviency, and we may be sure the Radicals, both black and white, would double their efforts to enlighten them, so that in a very few months the issue would have to be tried over again, and the result would probably be very different. Mr. Perry and his friends would then find themselves dragged into the Union by the negroes, just as they now fear they may be, but the delay would have irritated everybody whose irritation is of any consequence, both blacks and whites. It would have confirmed the negroes in their growing hostility to their old masters, and would have justified the doubts and denunciations with which the extreme Radicals of the North are now assailing the latter, so that Mr. Perry would be forced sorrowfully to confess that his last end was worse than his first.

We deprecate as much as anybody can do the course which Messrs. Stevens, Phillips, and others are pursuing at this moment. It would be difficult to find words strong enough to characterize the performances of those who are trying to persuade the blacks that it is office or confiscation they are to seek through their votes, and not protection for the fruits of their industry. A more detestable sight than an educated orator preaching this lesson, and preaching nothing else, to this unfortunate race on their very entrance to freedom and civilization, we cannot well conceive of. We do not doubt that it is exercising a most injurious influence on the negroes, and on their account every good man ought to set his face against it.

But it is on their account alone that it is to be feared. Mr. Perry knows, and every Southern man of sense knows, that the plan of taking away white men's farms to give them to negroes finds no favor in Congress or out of it amongst any sensible or influential portion of the community. There is about as much real danger to Southern property from negro voting as there is from an invasion of St. Dominicans. If Mr. Perry and others like him would sit down and do a little thinking instead of basking in the smiles of "lovely woman," he would see this as plainly as we farther North, to whom "noble ladies" never say a word of approval. A wholesale or even very extensive confiscation of property by the majority in any State is never likely to take place, because the public sentiment of the other parts of the Union would forbid it, and would find means, we may be sure, of making itself felt. The one thing which is least likely to happen in our politics is the introduction or toleration anywhere of any practice shaking the security of property. Even in the wildest of our border communities a man may commit as many murders as he pleases, but if he takes to horse-stealing the people rise upon him. In fact, over-sensi-



tiveness on this point is one of the great weaknesses of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Moreover, the negro population of the South will have always to rely on its natural increase for its growth, while the white population is swollen every year by an enormous immigration. Let it appear that political tranquillity is once restored in the South, and we may be sure that, slavery being gone, the great and advancing tide, which is now eating every year farther and farther into the heart of the Western wilderness, will begin to steal very rapidly into the Southern forests, and to swamp the black vote everywhere. There is not the ghost of a chance that in ten years there will in any Southern State be a black majority, and that the ballot will be of any use to the negro except to defend the fruits of his own toil. There is danger just now, however, that the negro may be led astray, and that his education in civilization may, by bad counsels, be made bitterer and harder than it need be. But there is no danger that Southern whites will have to pass through any heavier ordeal than they ought to expect and than they really deserve. What the South needs now is common sense, and the suppression of "cavaliers" and blustering orators, and—we regret to say, too—of "lovely women." A more malignant political influence than these same "lovely women" are now exercising all over the South is not to be found on the continent, but it is to be hoped that Southern men will get free from it. Politics, they must learn, is not a "tournament." The great problems of the science are not solved by tilting at rings under the eyes of Queens of Love and Beauty, but by the diligent study and right use of the common facts of life. The South is not an enchanted land; the negro is not a dusky giant in a big castle, seizing white men, babies, and tender ladies, and making ragouts of them. So we have no longer any need of knights-errant, and the old Southern armor, the lance of vituperation, the shield of bombast, the helmet of rant, may be put into the local museums.

#### STATE AND MUNICIPAL TAXATION.

TAXES are burdensome even when lightest, and unequal in their operation even when most fairly assessed. But the system of taxation which exists in the United States, and in most of the several States, is of the most unequal and unjust in the civilized world, and, contrary to all theories about democracy, the inequalities of the various methods of taxation which are in use favor the minority and oppress the majority of the electoral class.

We shall not say anything in this place of the taxes imposed by the Federal Government, as that subject will receive our consideration separately at some other time, and has, moreover, received able treatment at the hands of Commissioner Wells, Mr. Edward Atkinson, and others. But in the State of New York, at any rate, the local taxes are heavy enough to make the mode of their levying a question of great importance, and yet the subject has received comparatively little attention. A few years ago the Board of State Assessors made a somewhat elaborate report, setting forth with much earnestness the injustice of the present system and proposing a change, which, however, did not reach the root of the trouble, and would have accomplished nothing if it had been adopted. The Legislature discussed the matter during part of one session, but the war and the taxation necessitated by it entirely diverted the public mind from such local questions. It is time that the subject should again be taken up, and the great increase of taxation has made it more than ever necessary that it should be levied upon equitable principles.

The method at present in use in the State of New York is as simple as it is unjust. With the exception of an insignificant sum raised from licenses, etc., the whole amount is levied upon accumulated property, and three-fourths of the burden falls upon real estate. Much more than half the personal property that is actually assessed is situated in the city of New York, and an immense proportion of it consists of the property of corporations, but for the existence of which scarcely any personal property would be reached by the tax-collector. Their annual exhibits of affairs and their desire to exaggerate the amount of their capital make them the easy prey of the assessor. But every one knows that vast amounts

of personal property in the hands of individuals escape taxation altogether. It is the general opinion of statisticians that the value of personal property in every civilized nation largely exceeds the value of all its real estate. But even if we suppose the two kinds of property to be of only equal value in this State, it results that land bears fifty per cent. more than its proper share of the taxes.

The disproportionate taxation of land, however, is not now so unjust as it once was, because the Federal Government raises an amount of imposts larger than those of the States combined, and levies them almost exclusively upon personal property. Yet it would be desirable, upon every ground of economy and political purity, that the General Government should be able to resign the collection of its taxes to the States, and it never can do this until the States have adopted an equal system of taxation.

For the present, however, a more important point for consideration is the total exemption from direct taxation of all who spend as much as they earn, or nearly as much—a class which includes a vast majority of the electors in cities, though not a majority in the rest of the State. The inevitable result of such a system is to make this large class indifferent to the duty of economy in public affairs. It is undoubtedly true that they are ultimately reached by the operation of natural laws, and compelled to pay some share of the public expenses through their landlords, tailors, grocers, and the like; but this is not realized by one in a hundred of those who have heard the fact stated, and has not even been heard of by most of the class referred to. The rent does not rise and fall in precise harmony with the taxes, nor can the wisest of men tell precisely how much has been added to it on that account. How can ignorant and careless men be expected to trouble themselves with such a question? We all know that they do not, and that two-thirds of the voters in New York city have not the least idea that, by voting for an extravagant or corrupt alderman, they are voting a penny out of their own pockets.

A change upon this point seems to us an indispensable condition of reform in the affairs of all great cities. In some way or other at least three-fourths of the electors should be compelled to pay direct taxes, rising and falling in exact conformity with the expenses of government. A mere poll-tax, such as is levied in several States, never varying in amount, would not answer the purpose; for no degree of economy in public affairs would diminish the tax. The amount necessary to be raised should be divided in certain fixed proportions; one part to be levied upon real estate, another on personal estate, another on incomes not arising from accumulated property, and another on the male residents twenty-one years of age. Every demand of taxes should be made by means of a paper, on which should be printed a brief statement of the amount of taxes levied for the city and State respectively, with a comparison of the amounts levied during the year or two previous. No one should be allowed to vote without having paid his personal tax, though we would not have any one allowed to escape the tax by omitting to vote.

The injustice of putting all the burdens of government upon accumulated property—in other words, upon the thrifty and economical—is palpable. Every man, however poor or however extravagant he may be, derives some benefit from good government, although undoubtedly the property-owner derives more. Let the property-owner pay *most*, but not *all* of the expense incurred for the common welfare. But, as we have said, we are more concerned for the effect upon the government of allowing a large class of voters to suppose that they have no interest in good government than even for the injustice suffered by individuals.

It might be possible to devise some plan by which tenants should be encouraged to pay their landlords' taxes or some part of them. In England every householder pays taxes in person. Every owner of chattels worth over \$250 might be required to pay a direct tax on his property. We do not urge these, or any other points of detail, because we desire at present to fix upon the minds of our readers the single proposition that universal taxation is the legitimate and necessary companion of universal suffrage. We would not restrict the right of suffrage, but we would most decidedly extend the round of the tax-gatherer.

## PERSONAL BEAUTY AS A POLITICAL FORCE.

A MAN can no more help it if he has great personal attractions than the Spice Islands can help being sweet or Pennsylvania can help having anthracite coal. They must be put in precisely the same category with the things which in the case of countries the political economists denominate natural wealth; and we should like to be shown a reason, if it must be held right for a community to use to the fullest extent all its stores of natural wealth, why it must be held wrong for the individuals composing the community to do the same thing. Indeed, we may go further, and say that no one but a trades-union man will long maintain—in fact, the trades-union man will not maintain it long—that it is anything but extremely immoral in a man to refuse to employ as fully and as energetically as he can all gifts of whatsoever kind which by divine allotment are his. It is, of course, his duty to see that the ends he aims at are justifiable, but having once convinced himself of that, he needs be under not the slightest apprehension that he disobeys the Golden Rule if habitually he, so to speak, “looks his prettiest” and does likewise. We do not care, however, to go into the moral casuistry of what is practically a plain enough question; we wish only to point out that Mr. Horace Greeley, even as a political economist alone, is abundantly provided with an answer to some recent fault-finding on the part of the *Springfield Republican* and the *New York Times*.

These journals, which are quite apt to oppose any of what may be called Mr. Greeley's politico-personal acts, have animadverted with some severity on his latest move, that of sowing his portraits broadcast, to use a rural metaphor, over the rural districts. A man's laboriously acquired learning, these journals say, his painful industry, his practised ability in business, his accumulated pecuniary capital—a improved and cultivated intellectual powers, he may be allowed to use in the struggle for political honors or for success and profit in the conduct of a newspaper. But they maintain that for a man to seek advancement by means of his personal beauty is wrong; that it is unfair to his competitors that gifts and graces of feature, of shape, of movement, of complexion, got without cost and without merit, should be used to promote the aggrandizement of their lucky possessor. So they would have Mr. Greeley stop the distribution of his portrait. To this modest demand we have been daily expecting a reply from Mr. Greeley in the columns of his organ. As yet he has made none; but that this is not because there is no sufficient reply to be made we have already shown, and we have looked at the absurdity of it from but a single point of view.

Whether it is right or wrong to employ for political purposes this natural endowment, “the student of the historic page,” as Mr. Everett and some others call him, will, at any rate, think it almost impossible to overestimate its political value. The books of the Hebrew prophet show him how the personal advantages of a young profligate drew the hearts of the men of Israel away from the man after God's own heart; the newspaper of the day before yesterday tells him of a coachman made husband to a queen of bluest blood. And, between the days of Absalom and the days of the Duke de Rianzanars, what ready reckoner will count up for the student before mentioned the names which are to be put in the same list of men whom their hair or their legs or their faces or their stature has made changers of dynasties and arbiters of the fate of nations? He will read of the marvellous face of Alcibiades, which beguiled the soul of the wisest of the heathens and took captive Tissaphernes the barbarian no less than Socrates; which charmed all Athens first and then charmed all Sparta and enslaved Thrace, taking away the glory of “the face that launched a thousand ships;” he will read of Sulla, of whom the Chalcidian soothsayer, observing attentively the turn of his form, the motions of his body, and the beauty of his aspect, predicted that he must infallibly one day be the greatest of men; and not only among the chosen people, among the austere Romans, among the intellectual Greeks, will he find these men whose faces have been their fortunes, but in the annals of all ages and of every realm, from the smallest island in the Pacific to the wide empire of Trajan, and from the Cornewalle of romance to the Scotland of fact. So it has been since the oldest times, when might was right, and human nature was reddest in tooth and claw; so it will be when this age of photographs and illustrated newspapers with portraits of “self-made men” has long given place to the coming age when the fairer

half of creation shall pass judgment on the claims of rival candidates for Congress. Mr. Greeley is as amply justified by the testimony of history as by the voice of his favorite science.

And speaking of the coming age of female suffrage, of course it becomes a question—too interesting, alas! to most of us—whether, when the days of prediction are actually upon us, the female estimate of manly beauty will vary sensibly from the standard which is now set up; and if so, how it will vary. That it will change is a thing to be expected; when and how no man can tell. If we take as indices of the present drift of female opinion on this point the words of the women who may be presumed authorized to speak for the sex, we all know how fatal to Mr. Greeley's claims would be the conclusions to which we should be compelled. The ideal of the female novelists for a number of years has been a short man with a dark complexion—and, by the way, a man with a light complexion does not take so well in a photograph as we could wish—with deep-set eyes, blazing sometimes like carbuncles, and at other times reminding one of the tremulous lustre of the star of evening. Then, too, the hero has a voice of great strength and compass, now like the clarion, now like the clarinet. As the special correspondents say, he is “grave of feature, corrugated of brow, indomitable of chin, resolute and sagacious of nose;” one of his legs is a trifle shorter than the other, though you would hardly observe it when he walks; he has a good deal of hard muscle on his jaws; he has an arm like Heenan's, and a hand like Maud's, and a chest like two soldiers on parade, or thirteen inches from breast to back; his lips writhe like earth-worms under the flowers of sulphur of his rhetoric, and set like a vice when he locks the door and relates to the young woman the story of his life; his complexion is pallid; the chances are that he has double teeth all round. The hero is not solicitous to follow the fashions in his dress; indeed, he might, without shocking our notions of verisimilitude, be depicted stealing into an alley-way for the purpose of tucking one leg of his trousers into the leg of one of his boots and mashing in his hat with his fist; for we must say that as we read about him the fair writers leave on our mind the impression that he is the least bit in the world of a humbug. There he is, however; and unless we do wrong to think that female novelists, who are women writing mainly for women, do not know what women like, we are afraid Mr. Greeley and none of the rest of us who are his “even Christian” in the matter of beauty, or who, without being just that, are of the same general type of beauty, can hope to do much in the political way after the ballot-box is open for the votes of the sex.

To be sure the tide may turn completely, though we confess we do not see that if it does there is much more hope for Mr. Greeley and for most leading politicians than there will be if it runs as now. Certainly we have no desire to see the old types of heroes coming into fashion again. Few of us can wear a Spanish mantle any more than Mr. Greeley, or, for that matter, the editors of *The Times* and *The Republican*; few of us have curly hair or clustering hair or rolling eyes or drooping moustaches. Thaddeus of Warsaw would beat us out and out for senatorship or the presidency. Nor, on the other hand, have many of us chestnut-brown hair falling to our waist, which we wear without powder, nor cheeks blended of the lily and the rose on which the down of youthful manhood is just beginning to appear. When women vote we drop our aspirations. In that day how shall he run for the White House who wears overshoes and a bad hat and has the asthma slightly and carries an umbrella? Old stagers may then as well consider themselves razed from the book of honors, and look on photographs as a vain expense.

## HOW SHALL WE SPELL?

NO. III.

WE have established, as we think, in our former articles the true reason why we adhere so stoutly to our present modes of spelling, showing that it is a pure and simple conservatism which by no means founds itself upon useful principles, historical or other, but only in certain cases hides itself behind them. We may next enquire what reasons we have for finding fault with this conservatism and its results, and for wishing and attempting to overthrow them.

In the first place, English orthography violates the true ideal of the re



lation of written language to spoken, and of an alphabetic mode of writing. To those who have never looked into the subject it may seem that a phonetic spelling, giving one sign to every sound and one sound to every sign, is a rude and simple device which an enlightened ingenuity might well enough be tempted to enrich and adorn by mixing it with elements of higher significance. But the student of language knows that the case is far otherwise; that an alphabet is the final result of centuries, even ages, of education and practice in the use of written characters. As a historical fact, writing began not with representing spoken language, but with trying to do over again what language does—to put occurrences and ideas directly before the mind by intelligible symbols. Only later, and by an indirect process, were men brought to see that, having already produced one system of means, namely, words, for bodying forth thought and knowledge, it was needless to devise another and independent one for the same purpose; that their written tongue might best undertake simply to place before the eye their spoken tongue. The great step toward the perfection of writing was taken when it was fully subordinated to speech, and made to represent the names of things instead of things themselves. But even this only brought it out of the purely pictorial into a hieroglyphic stage, where it long continued, awkward and unmanageable; and another difficult and protracted process of development was necessary, in order to impart to it a phonetic character, so that it should signify words no longer by simple indivisible symbols, but by characters representing sounds. Our best illustration of the whole history is furnished in the Egyptian monuments, where we see signs of every kind—purely didactic pictures, figures of objects representing those objects themselves, other figures standing for the names of the objects they depict; others, for some part, as the consonants of those names; others, at last, as single letters for the initial sound of their names—all mingled together and exchanging with one another, making up a system of writing not less inconsistent than the English and infinitely more intricate and troublesome. The Egyptians were too conservative to seize upon the one practically valuable principle which their system contained, and carry it out consistently, casting aside its inherited encumbrances. But what they could not do was within the power of another people. Every one knows that our own alphabet goes back, through the Latin and Greek, to the Phœnician; and it is at least exceedingly probable, though far from admitting of demonstration, that the Phœnicians learned to write of the Egyptians. Either of the Egyptian or of some other analogous history of alphabetic development the Phœnicians inherited the results, and their alphabet was a simple scheme of twenty-two characters, the names of which (*aleph*, "bull," *beth*, "house," etc.; whence the Greek *alpha*, *beta*, etc.) began respectively with the sound which each represented. Yet this system, while it discarded everything but the purely phonetic part of the Egyptian, was no complete phonetic alphabet; it wrote the consonants alone, leaving the vowels to be supplied by the reader. It received its full perfection only upon passing into the keeping of the Greeks; they converted some of its superfluous characters into vowel-signs, added others, and produced at last an instrumentality which could and did set faithfully before the sight the whole structure of spoken speech. Among all the alphabets of the world, ancient and modern, there are few, excepting the Greek and its derivatives, which have attained this completeness, to which there does not cleave some taint of a pictorial or a syllabic character.

The Latin alphabet, taken from the Greek, fully accepted and carried out the phonetic principle, rejecting some of the Greek signs and devising new, so as to make an exact adaptation of its modes of writing to its modes of utterance. Nor have its descendants, in their turn, meant to do otherwise. But it is very difficult to maintain the principle in perfect purity, because the spoken forms of words change more insidiously than the written; all tongues which have had a long written history have become more or less "historic" in their spelling, change of orthography lagging ever behind the heels of change of pronunciation. And peculiarly unfavorable circumstances, which in no small part can be distinctly pointed out, have suffered to grow up a greater discordance between the written and the spoken speech among us than in any other community of equal enlightenment. This is the whole truth, and any attempt to make it appear otherwise savors only of the wisdom of the noted fox who lost his brush in a trap, and wanted to persuade himself and the world that the curtailment was a benefit and a decoration. Every departure from the rule that writing is the handmaid of speech is a dereliction of principle, and an abandonment of advantages which seemed to have been long ago assured to us by the protracted labors of many generations of the most gifted races known to history. The handmaid has no right to set up to be wiser and better than her mistress in a single particular. That the written word in any case deviates from the spoken is a fault which may, indeed, admit of palliation, even amounting to

excuse, but which it is an offence against all true science and sound sense to extol as a merit.

We have, of course, no intention of bringing forward the unfaithfulness of our orthography to the highest ideal of a mode of writing as a sufficient reason for an orthographic revolution. A grand practical question, which touches so nearly the interests of so many millions of writers and speakers, is not to be settled by sentimental considerations—by this which we have adduced upon the one side, any more than, upon the other, by the gratification of the small class of curious heads who may delight themselves with seeing Greek and Latin and Old English utterances dimly reflected in our modern spelling. But it was desirable, and even necessary, to draw out the exposition, in order to show that the phonetists have the advantage upon their side, not less in regard to the principle involved in the cause they are defending than in regard to the convenience and enlightenment of the historical student of language.

It is upon practical grounds that our final judgment of the value of English orthography must mainly rest. The written language is a universal possession, an instrument of communication for the whole immense community of English speakers, and anything which impairs its convenience and manageableness as an instrument is such a defect as demands active measures for removal. Now, no one can question that the practical use of our tongue is rendered more difficult by the anomalies of its written form. We do not, indeed, easily realize how much of the learning time of each rising generation is taken up with mastering orthographical intricacies; how much harder it is for us to learn to read at all, and to read and write readily and correctly, than it would be if we wrote as we speak. We accomplished the task so long ago, most of us, that we have forgotten its severity, and decline to see any reason why others should ask to be relieved from it. Teachers, however, know what it is, as do those who for want of a sufficiently severe early drilling, or from defect of native capacity, continue all their lives to be inaccurate spellers. Such may fairly plead that their orthographical sins are to be imputed, in great part, not to themselves but to the community which has established and sustains an institution so unnecessarily cumbersome. We may see yet more clearly the nature of the burden it imposes by considering what it is to foreigners. Our language, from the simplicity of its grammatical structure, would be one of the easiest in the world to learn if it were not loaded with its anomalous orthography. As the matter stands, a stranger may acquire the spoken tongue by training of mouth and ear, or the written by help of grammar and dictionary, and in either case the other tongue will be nearly as strange to him as if it belonged to an unknown race. It is doubtless within bounds to say that the difficulty of his task is thus doubled. And this item must count for not a little in determining the currency which the English shall win as a world-language—a destiny for which it seems more decidedly marked out than any other cultivated speech. In view of what we expect and wish it to become, we have hardly the right to hand it down to posterity with such a millstone about its neck as its present orthography.

It is, moreover, to be noted that a phonetic spelling, far from contributing, as its enemies claim, to the alteration and decay of the language, would exercise an appreciable conserving influence, and make for uniformity and fixedness of pronunciation. So loose and indefinite is now the tie between writing and utterance, that existing differences of utterance hide themselves under cover of an orthography which fits them all equally well, while others spring up unchecked. No small part of the conservative force expends itself upon the visible form alone, whereas if the visible and audible form were more strictly accordant, it would have its effect upon the latter also. The establishment of a phonetic orthography would imply the establishment and maintenance of a single authoritative and intelligible standard of pronunciation, the removal of the more marked differences of usage between the cultivated speakers of different localities, and the reduction of those of less account; and it would hold in check—though nothing can wholly restrain—those slow and insidious changes which creep unawares into the utterance of every tongue.

One thing more is worthy of at least a brief reference, namely, that a consistent spelling would awaken and educate the phonetic sense of the community. As things are now, the English speaker comes to the study of a foreign written language, and to the examination of phonetic questions generally, at a disadvantage when compared with those to whom other tongues are native. He has been accustomed to regard it as only natural and proper that any given sound should be written in a variety of different ways, that any given sign should possess a number of different values; and it requires a special education to give him an inkling of the truth that every letter of our alphabet had originally, and still preserves in the main, outside of his own language, a single unvarying sound. His ideas of the relations of the

vowels are hopelessly awry; he sees nothing strange in the designation of the vowel sounds of *pin* and *pine*, or of *pat* and *pate*, or of *pun* and *pure*, as corresponding short and long, although we might as well assert that *dog* and *cat*, or that *sun* and *moon*, are corresponding male and female. And he reads off his Latin and Greek in tones that would have driven frantic any Roman or Athenian who suspected it to be his own tongue that was so murdered, with unsuspecting complacency, even flattering himself that he appreciates their rhythm and melody. It is not the least telling of the indications he furnishes of a sense for the fitness of things debauched by a vicious training that he is capable of regarding a historical spelling as preferable to a phonetic—that is to say, of thinking it better to write our words as we imagine that some one else pronounced them a long time ago than as we pronounce them ourselves. A thoroughly consistent spelling would be a far more valuable means of philological education than such a one as we now follow, were the latter twice as full as it is of etymological suggestiveness.

We are, then, clearly of opinion that a phonetic orthography is, of itself, in all respects desirable, and that there is no good reason against introducing it save the inconvenience of so great a change. Every theoretical and practical consideration makes in its favor. At the same time, our hope of a reform is exceedingly faint. No reform is possible until the community at large—or at least the greater body of the learned and highly educated—shall see clearly that the advantage to be gained by it is worth the trouble it will entail; and whether and when they will be brought to do so is very doubtful. At present the public mind is in a most unnaturally sensitive condition upon the subject; it will listen to no suggestion of a change from any quarter in any word or class of words. The great need now is to enlighten it, to show that its action is the result of a blind prejudice alone, and really founded on none of the reasons which are alleged in its support; that there is nothing sacred in the written word, that language is speech, not spelling, and that practical convenience is the only true test of the value of an orthographic system. Until this work is accomplished all reformers will be likely to meet the fate of Noah Webster, one of the best-abused men of his generation, and for one of the most creditable of his deeds, the attempt to amend in a few particulars our English spelling—an attempt for which (however fragmentary it may have been, and ill-judged in some of its parts) we ourselves feel inclined to forgive him many of his false etymologies and defective definitions. We have read in the story-books that a certain Prince Nosey was condemned by a malevolent fairy to wear a portentously long nose until he should himself become convinced that it was too long, which salutary but unpalatable truth was kept indefinitely concealed from him by the flattery of his courtiers. The English-speaking people are in somewhat the same case; and though fairy days are now over, and we can no longer hope that our superfluous nasal inches will drop off the moment we recognize their superfluity, we know that at any rate we shall not lose them sooner because we shall not sooner be willing to set about the work of ridding ourselves of them. Of course our words would look very oddly to us now in a phonetic dress, but that is merely because we are used to them in another. So our friends the ladies, if they should suddenly appear before our sight in the head-gear which they are going to wear year after next, would shock us and provoke the cut direct; yet we shall by that time be looking back to the bonnets of this season as the height of absurdity. If once brought to the adoption of a consistent orthography, we should soon begin to regard with aversion our present idiographs and historiographs, and wonder that we could ever have preferred, or even tolerated them. It is easy now to raise a general laugh against the man who writes *news* "*nuz*;" but so the Englishman can count upon an admiring and sympathizing audience among his own countrymen when he turns against the Frenchman that crushing question, "What can you think of aman who calls a *hat* a '*shappo*'?"—and the appeal is really to the same narrow prejudice and vulgar ignorance in the one case as in the other.

The future is a very long period, and a great deal is possible in the course of it. There is no telling, spite of present appearances, that the public temper may not come to admit, some time, the introduction of improvements of one kind and another into our orthography, which shall prepare the way for a more thorough reform. Meanwhile we look with interest and respect upon the effort of every one who is laboring toward that end, since however little he may seem to accomplish, he is at least contributing his mite toward the arousing of public attention to the subject, and helping perhaps to inaugurate a change of feeling.

Respecting the farther difficulties—many and serious, and only partially apprehended by the greater part of those who undertake the making of phonetic systems—which beset the labors of the orthographic reformer, and render his success doubtful, even supposing the preliminary obstacle of

which we have been treating to be cleared away, we have left ourselves no room to speak, nor is this, perhaps, the proper place to discuss them.

## ENGLAND.

LONDON, May 17, 1867.

THE most amusing, if not the most important, event of the last fortnight has been the Reform meeting in Hyde Park. When I last wrote to you it was expected not without anxiety. Ominous paragraphs were appearing in the newspapers. The police, it was said, were being assembled in force. Troops were being massed in London. Nay, there were mysterious hints at Armstrong guns and grapeshot, as though we had been on the verge of another French revolution. This excitement was partly due to the extremely unsatisfactory tone taken by the Government in the House of Commons. Mr. Walpole is member for Cambridge University, and is the very ideal of what a university member should be; that is to say, he is an absolute incarnation of respectability, a model of deportment, and a man of naturally commanding presence. He spoke with such solemnity, and at the same time with such vagueness, that only three points seemed to be clear; first, that the Government apprehended considerable danger; secondly, that they meant to do something very awful; and, thirdly, that they did not quite know what the awful thing was to be. The terrible Monday morning came, and the respectable West-End population rather expected to go to bed with its throats cut. On looking at *The Times* its fears were dissipated. Mr. Walpole had found out—nay, had known all along, but had at last announced—that he had no legal right whatever to stop the meeting. All his pomposities had been mere vague bluster, just as in England old-fashioned people sometimes put up a notice to trespassers that spring-guns are set on their premises, though spring-guns are a legend of the past. It was, in short, a game of brag between Mr. Walpole and the Reform League, and the Reform League won. The prohibition being thus removed, the meeting lost all its spice. It was not to be suppressed, and nobody much cared to go. However, it was a fine evening, and forty or fifty thousand persons collected and listened in perfect good humor to a little stump-speaking, whilst the ragged edges of the crowd amused themselves partly by chaffing a special constable or two, and partly, also, by affording occupation for some strolling card-sharps, and chiefly in simple "loafing" and enjoyment of the summer weather. Next day Mr. Walpole resigned his office, entirely on account of his health. In fact, as Mr. Disraeli carefully explained, he had wished to resign for the same reason two months ago. It is a pity he did not!

The artificial excitement caused by the extreme folly of the Government has completely died away; and I must say that, in spite of public meetings and writing in newspapers, I do not think that Reform anywhere excites a very strong feeling. This is partly due to the confused nature of the issues now before the House of Commons. Mr. Disraeli's tactics have met with a success which, I confess, has surprised me, but which is much more creditable to his ingenuity than to the sincerity of any part of the House. To the Tory party, he says, I offer household suffrage in name, but I fence it round with so many safeguards that it will be practically innocuous, and we shall thus steal a march upon professed reformers. To the Radicals, he says, the safeguards I offer are really so small that for practical purposes you will have household suffrage. The Tories follow because Tories are good at following, of which, perhaps, the ultimate cause is that assigned by Mr. Mill, namely, that Tories are stupid. Radicals follow because they hope that even if Mr. Disraeli's restrictions are carried, they will work too badly to stand; and thus that Mr. Disraeli will have outwitted himself. And, finally, Mr. Disraeli has one argument far more convincing than any other with the half-hearted of all sides. If you do not vote for me, he says, I will dissolve. Now, a dissolution means that every member will have to meet another election; or, in other words, to spend sums varying from some hundreds up to many thousands of pounds. And this argument generally clinches the discussion. The moderate Liberals who wish for an open and above-board extension of the franchise, but not so far as household suffrage, are more perplexed than any party, for Mr. Disraeli has fairly taken the wind out of their sails. The chances still are that the bill will pass; but no human being can say, until the new registration of voters, what its operation will be, nor whether we shall have really made a large stride or merely stepped forward with one leg and back with the other.

Meanwhile the Liberal party has been to a large extent demoralized. Mr. Gladstone, however, has apparently recovered his self-command, and has shown several symptoms of taking a more decided liberal course than heretofore. His weak point has always been his disposition towards High



Church views, which are naturally associated with Toryism in politics. He has, however, this session gone against church-rates, in favor of the opening of the universities to all sects, and has lately pronounced strongly against that iniquitous institution, the Established Church in Ireland. After a long sleep, this question, which excited violent debates after the first Reform bill, seems to be again awakening, and a very lively discussion took place upon it the other day. The state support of a religion which is in a trifling minority is, of course, totally impossible on any rational grounds, and Mr. Gladstone put the obvious arguments against it with his usual logical force. The main reason for its continued support, beyond the fatality which seems to beset all our Irish legislation, consists in the sense that there is a much larger question in the background. The Irish Church is a kind of outpost or bulwark of the Church of England. No one can doubt that an effective measure of reform in one case would increase the party—at present a very small one—which is hostile to the Establishment in the other; and symptoms are not wanting which show that we may before long have a more vigorous contest than has hitherto been waged as to the rights and position of the English Church. Thus Lord Shaftesbury brought forward a measure in the House of Lords the other night which indicates the rapid growth of a very dangerous element. He proposed some legislation with the view of restricting the garments—I beg their pardon, vestments—at present used by the English clergy. It was decided very properly that it would be better to wait until a commission should have settled what was the present state of the law. At first sight there is something childish in a solemn parliamentary debate as to whether a clergyman may wear a green robe or a white one—a lively discussion upon matters which might be better left to a milliner. Still the ritualistic movement has really become of very serious importance. It is said that there are two thousand churches in England which have lighted candles flaming upon their “altars” instead of unlighted candles standing on their communion-tables; and a flaming candle is equivalent in Protestant eyes to the mark of the beast. A book has been published called the “Directorium Anglicanum,” which has the highest authority among the party. It contains such regulations as these: That the priest is never to take the chalice at one draught, lest by reason of the impetus he should unintentionally cough; that before “mass” he is not to wash his mouth or teeth, but only his lips, with his mouth shut, lest the taste of water should be intermingled with his saliva; that, as it puts it, “if a fly or a spider should fall into the chalice after consecration, it should be warily taken out, oftentimes diligently washed between the fingers, and then burned, and the ablution and ashes must be preserved near the altar.” Again, we are informed that “if any one by accident should vomit up the Eucharist, the vomit is to be burned, and the ashes preserved near the altar. And if he be clerical or monk or deacon, he must do penance forty days; if a bishop, seventy days; if a layman, thirty days.” Now, in one sense, this tomfoolery is certainly beneath contempt. In another, as implying an approximation to the Romish theory of sacerdotalism, it is more serious. In any case, if the gentlemen who play at it want the real thing, they ought to go to Rome, and the sooner they get there, the better for their own consciences and the reputation of Englishmen for common sense; and, as far as they are concerned, there is little else to be said except that a man in a transition state between two extremes generally occupies a very ridiculous position. Unluckily, these ritualists play their antics in parish churches. In London it matters little. People who like what their supporters call æsthetic services, and their opponents religious pantomimes, may, of course, go to their churches, and those who dislike them may go elsewhere. But in the country, where the parish church is the only provision for religious services, the case is very different. If there is anything fixed in the heart of the middle-class Englishman it is his Protestantism; the higher classes have of late years shown a decided tendency in other directions; the strong-minded are almost universally more or less sceptical, and the weaker vessels show a hankering after the refinement and “repose” of Rome or semi-Romish creeds. But the true British tradesman or farmer is a dogged Protestant; he hates the Pope and things savoring of Popery; his chief intellectual enjoyment is listening to a good Low Church sermon, and Mr. Spurgeon is the orator who most precisely corresponds to his taste. In country districts it is very common for the people to go to the church in the morning because it is respectable, and because the squire and the parson go there and consider that the regular attendants have a certain claim upon their liberality and patronage; in the afternoon the same people go to the Wesleyan or Independent chapel because they really like it. It is, indeed, their only approach to intellectual employment during the week. In many parts of the country—in Wales, for example, and in the eastern counties—dissent is undoubtedly the favorite creed of the great mass, although they may nominally, and for the purposes of respectability, be

Churchmen. Consequently there is a large body of the population which hangs, so to speak, loosely upon the Church, and might always, by a little extra pressure, be driven into the opposite camp. Ritualism seems to be going some way towards supplying this pressure; it is alienating a considerable body of laymen more decidedly than before from the Establishment, and giving an additional lever to those who object to the union between church and state. The Wesleyan Methodists, for example, have always been on friendly terms with the Church, and have co-operated with a large party within it, but they are beginning to doubt whether it is not, after all, a mere “rag of Popery.” That these feelings will produce any tangible result or cause any serious legislation is highly improbable. It has always been a condition of the very existence of the Church of England that it should embrace as many extremes as possible; if one party were excluded, the result would simply be an addition to the number of external enemies, under which the position of the Establishment would become precarious. I only wish to point out that the process of keeping the extremes together is daily involving more difficult tinkering. To ride six horses at once is always a difficult feat, and when the outsiders begin resolutely to diverge there is a chance that some one will get a fall.

### CRETE.

CANEA, CRETE, April 23, 1867.

AFFAIRS here drift slowly. Omar Pasha has gone out with a large army, uniting in several attacks 16,000 men and 12 guns. His declared policy is one of extermination for all armed resistance, but the Cretans have replied only by rising *en masse* and assuming the offensive. Even the women of Sphakia are arming, and the people are blocking all the roads and in every possible way destroying the communications.

Omar Pasha has and deserves a high reputation as a soldier, but he is an old man now, and he comes to a country where strategy is difficult and tactics impossible, where he must take to bush-fighting and rock-scaling, and his suite do not seem very confident of success.\*

I must confess that he made on me a most favorable impression, and seemed a man strongly to attach his subordinates to him. Rigorous and hard in discipline, and quite awake to the necessity of observing the laws of civilized warfare, he will exhaust the offensive means of his Government, and at the same time spare us the horrors the Albanian administration of Mustapha Pasha introduced here. Already the country within the lines begins to show a degree of security and quiet that it has not had for a long time. Irregularities are promptly put down, and with the exception of having hundreds of rough Mussulmans, into whose hands rifled muskets are put for the first time, banging away like boys on Fourth of July all over the country, ignorant of range or penetration, we are in a measure assured of tranquillity and safety. The Pasha assured us that in a month he would have things in a way of settlement, but others who have seen him since say that he is not so confident now; and one distinguished member of his staff openly expressed to the commandant of a foreign man-of-war his doubt of accomplishing anything decisive. The Cretans feel that the Porte is playing its last card, and they have only to trump it and the war is over. This will make fighting obstinate, and we may expect to hear of the heaviest carnage yet known in the island. The army, once 46,000 men, now is, with reinforcements of three or four thousand, not much above 20,000. The Cretans are estimated at 40,000 in all the island.

\* This is the only kind of fighting of which Omar Pasha has had any experience. His really active service has been against the Bosnians and Montenegrins. On the Danube he did nothing except wait.

## Correspondence.

### VISION AND VAPORS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

When good fortune vouchsafes to the veteran editor of *The Tribune* a clear glimpse of men and things as they are, through some rift in the vaporous whims that encompass him, his vision seems to be excellent. For example, in his issue of the 28th inst. is an editorial classification of the several grades of loyalty and disloyalty in the South which is certainly discriminating as a *qualitative* if necessarily imperfect as a *quantitative* analysis. The editor distributes the population of the late rebel States into five classes, thus: “1, White Unionists who never faltered. 2, Black ditto. 3, Original Unionists who became rebels. 4, Original Secessionists now loyal.

5, Implacable rebels." His estimate of the number of people represented by each class is appended to each. The figures I omit as not possessing special value, and as irrelevant to the point I have in mind. That point is the singular relation subsisting between the editor's comments on class No. 5 and his pet whim of "Universal amnesty and impartial suffrage." Of the "implacable rebels"—whereof he assumes the existence of 2,000,000—he talks after this vigorous fashion:

"This body of malignants are as ready to-day to burn negro school-houses, insult the female teachers therein, and assault negro camp-meetings as they ever were. They are the instigators of New Orleans massacres and Mobile riots. The country can have no solid peace till they are suppressed or driven out. They cannot be won over to loyalty, no matter by

what means; but they may be isolated, and so exposed to discipline or reduced to insignificance."

To unanointed eyes, unilluminated by any other than the light of average common sense, it is difficult to see how "universal amnesty" is going to accomplish these tolerably radical preliminaries to a "solid peace"—or any one of them. How will it placate the implacable? How will it suppress, drive out, isolate, or expose to discipline the aforesaid body of malignants? And how does Mr. Greeley manage to hold in one brain, albeit a large one, such comical diversities of sentiment, such an incongruous jumble of opposites, and yet preserve that "innocent expression of face" that some writer talks about?

D. T.

May 30, 1867.

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*Whereas*, In a republican form of government it is of the highest importance that the delegates of the people, to whom the sovereign power is entrusted, should be so selected as to truly represent the body politic; and there being no provision of law whereby the people may be organized for the purpose of such selection, and all parties having recognized the necessity of such organization by the formation of voluntary associations for this purpose; and

*Whereas*, There are grave defects existing under the present system of voluntary organization which it is believed may be corrected by suitable provisions of law; now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, By the Board of Directors of the UNION LEAGUE OF PHILADELPHIA, That the Secretary be and is hereby directed to offer eleven hundred dollars in prizes for essays on the legal organization of the people to select candidates for office, the prizes to be as follows, viz.:

The sum of five hundred dollars for that essay which, in the judgment of the Board, shall be first in the order of merit;

Three hundred dollars for the second;

Two hundred for the third; and

One hundred for the fourth.

The conditions upon which these prizes are offered are as follows, viz.:

*First*. All essays competing for these prizes must be addressed to GEORGE H. BOKER, Secretary of the Union League of Philadelphia, and must be received by him before the 1st day of January, 1868; and no communication having the author's name attached, or with any other indication of origin, will be considered.

*Second*. Accompanying every competing essay, the author must enclose his name and address within a sealed envelope, addressed to the Secretary of the Union League. After the awards have been made, the envelopes accompanying the successful essays shall be opened, and the authors notified of the result.

*Third*. All competing essays shall become the property of the Union League; but no publication of rejected essays, or the names of their authors, shall be made without consent of the authors in writing.

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GEO. H. BOKER,  
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**FLORENCE**

**Reversible Feed Lock-Stitch  
Sewing Machines.**

BEST FAMILY MACHINE IN THE WORLD.

**FLORENCE S. M. CO.,**

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**ELLIPTIC**

**LOCK-STITCH SEWING MACHINES.**

Manufactured by WHEELER & WILSON. Sold only by the Agents of the Elliptic Sewing Machine Company.

The latest and incomparably the best Family Sewing Machine in the world. All the highest Premiums in 1866. Combining the greatest simplicity with the highest perfection of mechanism and largest range of work. Agents wanted.

**Elliptic Sewing Machine Company,**  
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**CARPETS! CARPETS!!**

**H. O'FARRELL**

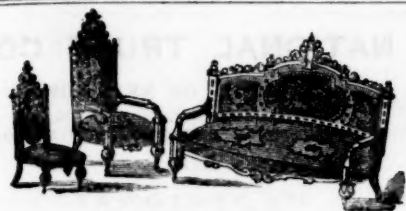
Is now offering the largest assortment of ENGLISH BRUSSELS, THREE-PLY, and INGRAIN CARPETS, OIL-CLOTHS, CANTON MATTINGS, WINDOW SHADES, MATS, etc., in the City.

His Stock of PARLOR, BEDROOM, and KITCHEN FURNITURE, of extra and medium grades, is fully up to the standard of excellence his manufacture is noted for, and for quantity and quality stands unrivalled.

Warerooms—267, 269, 271 West Thirty-fifth Street, and 486, 488 Eighth Avenue.

P.S.—All the railroad and cross-town cars pass before his doors.





## FURNITURE.

PRICE REDUCED 30 PER CENT. AT

**DEGRAAF & TAYLOR'S,**

57 &amp; 59 Bowery, 65 Christie Street, and 130 and 132 Hester Street, all under one roof.

WHOLESALE AND RETAIL.

ROSEWOOD PARLOR AND CHAMBER FURNITURE. Mahogany, Walnut, and Tulip Wood; Parlor Furniture, French Oil Finish; Sideboards and Extension Tables; Spring and Hair Mattresses; Cottage and Chamber Sets; Cane and Wood Seat Chairs.

We keep the largest variety of any house in the Union, and defy competition. All Goods guaranteed as represented.

THE

**SINGER MFG. CO.,**

Proprietors and Manufacturers of the World-renowned SINGER SEWING MACHINES. The superior merits of the "SINGER" Machines over all others, for either Family use or Manufacturing purposes, are so well established and so generally admitted, that an enumeration of their relative excellences is no longer considered necessary. THE LETTER "A" FAMILY MACHINE, hitherto manufactured by this Company, has gained and maintained the world over, and for years past, an unparalleled reputation and sale. But, notwithstanding the excellence of this Machine, we have now to announce that it has been superseded by our NEW FAMILY MACHINE, which has been over two years in preparation, and which has been brought to perfection regardless of TIME, LABOR, or EXPENSE; and which is now confidently presented to the public as incomparably the BEST SEWING MACHINE IN EXISTENCE. The machine in question is simple, compact, durable, and beautiful. It is quiet, light-running, and capable of performing a range and variety of work never before attempted upon a single Machine, using either Silk, Twist, Linen, or Cotton Threads, and sewing with equal facility the very finest and coarsest materials, and anything between the two extremes, in the most beautiful and substantial manner. Its attachments for Hemming, Braiding, Cording, Tucking, Quilting, Felling, Trimming, Binding, etc., are novel and practical, and have been invented and adjusted especially for this Machine.

New DESIGNS of UNIQUE, USEFUL, and POPULAR FOLDING TOPS and CABINET CASES, peculiar to the Machines manufactured by this Company, have been prepared for enclosing the New Machine. These are gotten up in every variety of wood, such as Black Walnut, Mahogany, Rosewood, and the like, and from the plainest to the most elaborate pattern and finish; the Machines themselves being more or less highly ornamented to correspond with the Tables or Cabinets for which they are intended.

But a faint idea, however, can at best be conveyed through the medium of a (necessarily) limited advertisement of this *Paragon of Family Machines*, and we therefore urge every person in quest of a Sewing Machine by all means to examine and test, if they possibly can do so, all the leading rival Machines before making a purchase. A selection can then be made understandingly.

Branches, or agencies, for supplying the "Singer" Machines will be found in nearly every city and town throughout the civilized world, where Machines will be cheerfully exhibited, and any information promptly furnished; or communications may be addressed, for circulars or otherwise, to

**THE SINGER MANUFACTURING CO.,**  
458 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

Circulars, describing and illustrating the *Manufacturing Machines* made by this Company, as also the truly wonderful and only practical *Button-hole Machine* ever yet devised, will be sent, post free, on application.

**FREEMAN & BURR.**

MEN'S AND BOYS'

**CLOTHING,**

OF ALL KINDS, AT EXTREMELY LOW PRICES.

**BUSINESS SUITS,** \$15 to \$40.  
**DRESS SUITS,** \$25 to \$50.  
**BOYS' AND YOUTHS' SUITS,** \$5 to \$25.  
**SPRING OVERCOATS,** \$8 to \$20.

ALSO, LARGE STOCK OF FINE

**CLOTHS, COATINGS, CASSIMERES, VESTINGS,**

FOR CUSTOM WORK AT EQUALLY LOW PRICES.

**124 FULTON & 90 NASSAU STREETS,**

CORNER OPPOSITE SUN BUILDING.

**UNION MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY.**

Assets, - - - - - \$2,188,429 20

NEW YORK OFFICE, 151 BROADWAY.

**J. W. & H. JUDD, General Agents for New York.**

Active and efficient Agents wanted in all the Cities and large Towns in the healthy portions of the United States and British Provinces. To such, a liberal commission will be paid.

LIST OF LOSSES PAID ON MEMBERS WHO HAVE DIED DURING THE YEAR ENDING DEC. 31, 1866.

AGE.	NAME.	RESIDENCE.	OCCUPATION.	AMOUNT INSURED.
39	Joseph A. Southard,	Richmond, Me.,	Ship Master,	\$2,000
22	Evander O. Tozier,	Boston, Mass.,	Tailor,	2,150
35	Chas. S. Stephenson,	New York, N. Y.,	Ship Broker,	2,000
25	John A. Curtis,	New York, N. Y.,	Auctioneer,	5,000
37	John A. Curtis,	New York, N. Y.,	Auctioneer,	2,500
36	Thomas J. Willard,	Portland, Me.,	Master Mariner,	3,000
23	Edwin H. Rand,	Charlestown, Mass.,	Clerk,	2,000
40	Thomas S. Foster,	Gardiner, Me.,	Merchant Tailor,	2,000
24	Eden P. Foster,	Jackson, Mich.,	Jeweller,	2,100
34	Calvin M. Burbank,	Lawrence, Mass.,	Clerk,	3,000
51	John W. Crafts,	South Boston, Mass.,	Provision Dealer,	10,000
33	Samuel W. Bliss,	Boston, Mass.,	Fruit Dealer,	2,000
35	Richard Tuttle,	Chicago, Ill.,	Provision Merchant,	2,000
47	Francis Winter,	New York, N. Y.,	Lock Manufacturer,	3,000
31	D. B. Cunningham,	New York, N. Y.,	Merchant,	3,000
41	Robert N. Corning,	Concord, N. H.,	Railroad Contractor,	2,000
57	Saml. M. Candler,	Brooklyn, N. Y.,	Custom House Clerk,	2,500
40	Charles Lins,	Ashland, Pa.,	Druggist,	3,000
27	Francis Fischer,	Louisville, Ky.,	Hatter,	5,000
26	Zeno Kelly,	West Barnstable, Mass.,	Master Mariner,	1,500
42	Julius Heimann,	New York, N. Y.,	Carriage Maker,	2,000
49	George Draper,	New York, N. Y.,	Clothing Merchant,	2,000
26	Philander M. Chase,	Charlestown, Mass.,	Milkman,	2,000
43	Henry Fishback,	Carlinville, Ill.,	Merchant,	3,000
22	A. C. Sutherland,	Detroit, Mich.,	Book-keeper,	1,800
30	Charles E. Foote,	Pittston, Pa.,	Coal Agent,	2,500
39	Emanuel W. Mace,	Chicago, Ill.,	Cigar Manufacturer,	2,000
37	Robert Clough,	Chicago, Ill.,	Stone Cutter,	2,000
30	Ellen Clough,	Chicago, Ill.,	Wife,	2,000
35	Robert H. Howe,	St. Louis, Mo.,	Agent,	5,000
19	George H. Dunlap,	Brunswick, Me.,	Gentleman,	10,000
49	Thomas W. Eamis,	Boston, Mass.,	Merchant,	5,000
38	Iesachai H. Brown,	Troy, N. Y.,	Druggist,	1,500
27	Zelotes W. Knowles,	Addison, Me.,	Master Mariner,	3,000
62	Lewis Wm. H. Giese,	Baltimore, Md.,	Merchant,	4,000
30	Elliakim W. Ford,	Albany, N. Y.,	Merchant,	3,000

**Joseph Gillott's Steel Pens**

OF THE OLD STANDARD QUALITY.

TRADE MARK—

Joseph Gillott,  
Warranted.or Descriptive Name and Designating Number.  
New Series, Good and Cheap, from No. 700 to No. 761.

TRADE MARK— Joseph Gillott, Birmingham. With Designating Numbers.

For sale by

**JOSEPH GILLOTT & SONS,**  
91 John Street, New York.**HENRY OWEN, Sole Agent.****DECKER BROTHERS'**

PATENT PLATE PIANO-FORTES

The public and the patrons of the well-known Decker Pianos are cautioned against buying any piano purporting to be a Decker Brothers' Piano which does not have in raised letters, on the Iron Plate at the left side, the words,

**DECKER BROTHERS' PATENT, JUNE, 1863.**

The Decker Brothers Piano is sold at

**91 BLEECKER STREET ONLY,**

and at no other place in this Street or in New York City.

THE  
**SAFE DEPOSIT COMPANY**  
OF NEW YORK,

UNDER SPECIAL CHARTER FROM THIS STATE  
FOR THE

**SAFE KEEPING OF VALUABLES,**

Government Bonds, Coin, Silver Plate, Jewellery,  
Wills during life of maker, Cash Boxes,  
and any Securities or Valuable  
Papers. Also for

**RENTING SMALL SAFES,**

On satisfactory introduction,  
AT \$20 TO \$45 PER ANNUM,  
Lessee having exclusive access, and only singly, and then  
only with safe-keeper,

IN ITS

**BURGLAR-PROOF VAULTS,**

UNDER ARMED WATCH DAY AND NIGHT.

Private desks for lessees—Separate apartment for Ladies

IN THE

ABSOLUTELY FIRE-PROOF BUILDING,

142 & 146 Broadway,

Corner LIBERTY STREET.

FRANCIS H. JENKS, President.

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**GROYER & BAKER'S**

FIRST PREMIUM

**ELASTIC STITCH AND LOCK STITCH**

SEWING MACHINES,

495 Broadway, New York.

**DECKER & CO.,**

New Scale Ivory Agraffe Bar

PIANO-FORTES,

419 BROOME STREET, East of Broadway, N. Y.

These Pianos stand unrivalled in regard to their sing-  
ing quality; volume and purity of tone; sympathetic,  
elastic, and even touch; and durability of construction.

**T. C. SELLEW,**

MANUFACTURER OF

**DESKS**

AND OFFICE FURNITURE,

107 FULTON ST., near Nassau St., N. Y.

LIBRARY AND SCHOOL FURNITURE MADE TO  
ORDER.

**MARVIN & CO.'S**

ALUM AND DRY PLASTER

FIRE AND BURGLAR

**SAFES**

MARVIN & CO.

Principal Warehouses: } 365 Broadway, New York.  
} 721 Chestnut St., Philadelphia.

**WHEELER & WILSON'S SEWING MACHINES,**

625 BROADWAY, N. Y.,

MAKE THE

LOCK-STITCH,

and rank highest on account of the elasticity, perma-  
nence, beauty, and general desirableness of the stitching,  
when done, and the wide range of its application.—*Report*  
of American Institute.

Nothing Succeeds like Success.



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Of this Company, Mr. Erastus Brooks, one of its Stock-  
holders and Directors, writes in *The Express*, of which he  
is one of the editors:

"The American Popular Life Insurance Company held  
its first annual meeting a few days since. The business  
of the first six months has been very successful, and has  
been conducted upon the safest and most economical  
business principles, alike for the stockholders and parties  
ensured. There are some plans in the organization of  
this Company popular in their character, which make it  
well worth general investigation, and which the officers  
specially invite."

*Extra Lives are rated down, and save money in this  
Company.*

We desire to call attention to the following

**FEATURES:**

Policies non-forfeitable after first payment.

Policies incontestable after death.

Paid-up Policies always obtainable.

Lowest rates for the best lives.

A provision for old age is made by annual cash  
Dividends after the "expectation" age is reached.

Payments can be made Annually, Weekly, Monthly,  
Quarterly, or Semi-annually.

No extra charge for travelling, except in Tropics and  
near Gulf of Mexico.

The Company has a Mutual Department.

The Company issues a new kind of Policy for Young  
Girls.

The Company will ensure any one.

CALL OR WRITE FOR OUR NEW CIRCULAR.

It is the simplest treatise on Life Insurance ever offered  
to the Public.

**NATIONAL TRUST CO.**

OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

TEMPORARY OFFICE AT THE NINTH NATIONAL  
BANK,

363 BROADWAY.

NEW YORK, June 5, 1867.

DEAR SIR:

The Books of Subscription to the Capital Stock of this  
Company are now open at the Ninth National Bank.

CAPITAL, \$1 000,000. SHARES, \$100 EACH.

The Stock is mostly subscribed and applied for.

The Books will be closed in a few days. Those who  
wish to subscribe will please do so without delay.

The Charter is unusually guarded, making the public  
quite secure in any deposits made in the institution, or  
any trusts committed to its charge.

THE CHARTER AND FRANCHISES ARE VALUABLE.

We have great confidence in the success of the Company,  
and believe that an investment in its stock will prove profit-  
able.

Full information will be given by calling at the Ninth  
National Bank, or by writing to the Commissioners there.  
Small subscriptions as well as large ones are received.

**THE PAYMENTS WILL BE AS FOLLOWS:**

June 5, 1867.....35 per cent.	Sept. 2, 1867....10 per cent.
July 1, 1867....15 "	Oct. 1, 1867....10 "
Aug. 1, 1867....10 "	Jan. 10, 1868....15 "
	Feb. 10, 1868....15 "

Subscribers may pay in the whole amount unpaid, and  
be allowed interest at the rate of seven per cent. per an-  
num to the average day of payment.

Yours very truly,

ELISHA A. PACKER, THOMAS W. SHANNON,  
THOMAS B. READ, JOSEPH U. ORVIS,  
HENRY C. CARTER,

COMMISSIONERS.

**STEINWAY & SONS'**

GRAND, SQUARE, AND UPRIGHT

**PIANO-FORTES**

HAVE TAKEN

Thirty-five FIRST PREMIUMS at the principal Fairs held in  
this country within the last ten years, and also were  
awarded a FIRST PRIZE MEDAL at the Great Interna-  
tional Exhibition in London, 1862, in competition with 369  
Pianos from all parts of the world.

That the great superiority of these instruments is now  
universally conceded is proved by the FACT that Messrs.  
STEINWAY & SONS' Scales, Improvements, and peculiarities  
of construction have been copied by the great majority of  
the manufacturers of both hemispheres (as closely as  
could be done without infringement on patent rights),  
and that their instruments are used by the most eminent  
Pianists of Europe and America, who prefer them for  
their own public and private use whenever accessible.

Every Piano is constructed with their Patent Agraffe  
Arrangement, applied directly to the Fall Iron Frame.

STEINWAY & SONS direct special attention to their  
newly-invented UPRIGHT PIANOS, with their Patent  
Resonator and Double Iron Frame, patented June 5, 1866.

This invention consists in providing the instrument  
(in addition to the iron frame in FRONT of the sound-  
board) with an iron brace frame in the REAR of it, both  
frames being cast in ONE PIECE, thereby imparting a  
solidity of construction and capacity of standing in tune  
never before attained in that class of instrument.

The sound-board is supported between the two frames  
by an apparatus regulating its tension, so that the great-  
est possible degree of sound-producing capacity is ob-  
tained and regulated to the nicest desirable point.

The great volume and exquisite quality of tone, as  
well as elasticity and promptness of action, of these new  
Upright Pianos, have elicited the unqualified admiration  
of the musical-profession and all who have heard them.

STEINWAY & SONS confidently offer these beautiful  
instruments to the public, and invite every lover of music  
to call and examine them.

WAREHOUSES:

FIRST FLOOR OF STEINWAY HALL,

71 AND 73 EAST FOURTEENTH STREET,

Between Fourth Avenue and Irving Place, New York.



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